

JUSOOR

THE ARAB AMERICAN JOURNAL OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

9/10

# THE OPEN VEINS OF JERUSALEM

LES VEINES OUVERTES DE JERUSALEM



edited by

FOUAD MOUGHRABI / MUNIR AKASH

A Jusoor Book

1997/1998



Suleiman Mansour, oil.

THE OPEN VEINS OF  
Les Veines Ouvertes de  
**JERUSALEM**

# JUSOOR 9/10

1997/1998

**editor/publisher**

A. Munir Akash

**co-editor**

Amira El-Zein

**poetry editor**

Daniel Moore

**editorial board**

Dia Al Azzawi, Abdulghani Abulaazm,

Halim Barakat

Mahmoud Darwish,

Sharif Elmusa

Roger Garaudy

Husain Haddawy, Jamal Abu Hamdan

Edward Al Kharrat

Muhammad Afifi Matar

Jabra Ibrahim Jabra

\*\*\*

**JUSOOR**

is published quarterly

(winter, spring, summer, fall) by Kitab, Inc.

P. O. Box 34163, W. Bethesda, Maryland 20827-0163 USA.

TEL: (301) 263 02 89, FAX: (301) 263 02 55

Email: Jusoos@aol.com

Subscriptions in the USA and Canada (4 issues):

individuals \$36.00; institutions \$65.00.

Subscribers outside of the USA and Canada add

\$14.00 for Surface-mail, \$30.00 for Air-mail.

Address subscriptions to :

**JUSOOR**

P.O.Box 34163, Bethesda, Maryland 20817 USA.

\*\*\*

Statements of fact and opinions appearing in JUSOOR are

the responsibility of the authors alone, and

do not imply the endorsement of the editors or the publisher.

**JUSOOR**

was founded in 1992 by

A. Munir Akash

\*\*\*

**JUSOOR BOOKS**

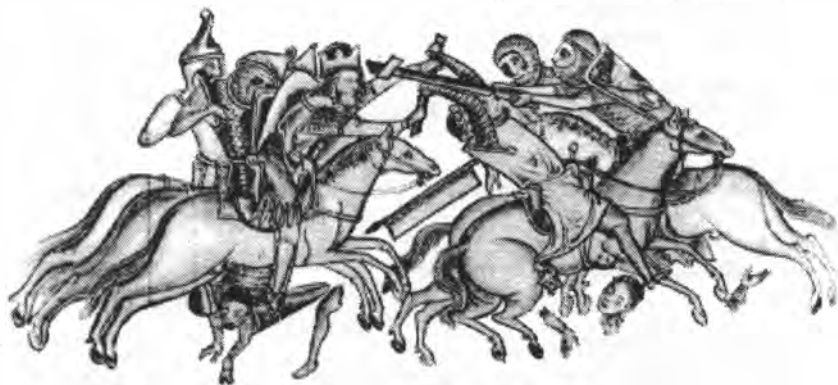
ISBN: 09652031-2-3

ISSN: 1066-4955

# THE OPEN VEINS OF JERUSALEM

Les Veines Ouvertes de Jerusalem

Edited by  
FOUAD MOUGHRABI / MUNIR AKASH



A Jusoor Book  
Kitab  
1997/1998



<b>Acknowledgments</b>	viii
<b>Introduction</b>	
The open veins of Jerusalem	ix
<b>Khalil Al-Khoury</b>	
The Stranger	xiii
<b>Israel Shahak</b>	
Jerusalem and the Jews	1
<b>Fouad Moughrabi</b>	
A Jerusalem memoir	21
<b>Issa J. Boullata</b>	
Jerusalem: The archaeology of memory	35
<b>Rashid Khalidi</b>	
For a shared Jerusalem	47
<b>Roger Garaudy</b>	
History of a conquest	55
<b>Naseer H. Aruri</b>	
Misrepresenting Jerusalem	149
<b>Patrick Laude</b>	
La Jerusalem axiale de Louis Massignon	229
<b>Jan De Jong</b>	
To save what can be saved	245
<b>Anne Latendresse</b>	
Israeli approaches to Jerusalem	257
<b>TESTIMONIES</b>	
<b>Ingrid Jaradat:</b> Ethnic cleansing in Jerusalem	256
<b>Pictures:</b> Israeli heroism, Mr. Clinton's pride	279
<b>V.P. Al Gore:</b> "We will fulfill the dream of Herzl and..."	293
<b>R. Gustafson &amp; C. Mallouhi:</b> Little bantustan of Bethlehem	305
<b>Christopher Walker:</b> Israeli Act will outlaw New Testament	315
<b>Smyrna:</b> Targets : Orthodox Christians and Islam	319
<b>Simone Bitton:</b> Of the difficulty in filming ruins	323
<b>Justine Saidman</b>	
"Victims of a Map"	331
<b>Jabra Ibrahim Jabra</b>	
Letters to Roger Allen, 1980-1994	361

<b>Naomi Shihab Nye:</b> Peace and other poems	397
<b>Mahmoud Darwish:</b> The Narcissus' tragedy, the silver's comedy	403
<b>Adonis:</b> The time	427
Mihyar of Damascus	437
<b>Daniel Moore:</b> The day the earth stood still	453
<b>Fuad Rifqa:</b> "The Jar of the Samaritan"	473
<b>Saadi Youssef:</b> Selected poems	478
<b>Hamid Sa'eed:</b> Vision of Al-'Amiriya shelter	495
<b>Sharif Elmusa:</b> The merchant's dream	500
<b>Waleed Khleif:</b> Fragments	508
<b>Saggar, Safadi and Jum'a:</b> Three poems	513
<b>Penny Johnson:</b> The washing machine	516
<b>Muna Asali van Engen:</b> The land that bears us	533
<b>Amira El-Zein:</b> Je ne me souviens plus	543

#### THE ARABIC SECTION القسم العربي

<b>Munir Akash</b>	منير الحكاش
The Talmud according to Uncle Sam	9 تلמוד العم سام
<b>Ibrahim Ali Alwazir</b>	ابراهيم بن علي الوزير
Zionism against Judaism	77 جناية الصهيونية على اليهودية
	83 يوسف سعيد: التراب
	92 نظام المهجاءوي: جذور الأوزار
	97 حسين الهجاءوي: أنشودة
	99 عبدالناصر المجلح: خزانة قبل النوم
	103 حكمت الصنيلي: المقدسية



### THE LIES AND THEFTS JUST NEVER END

They came for our land, for what grew  
or could be grown on it, for the resources in it,  
and for our clean air and pure water.  
They stole these things from us, and in the taking  
they also stole our free ways  
and the best of our leaders, killed  
in battle or assassinated. And now, after all that,  
they've come for the very last of our possessions;  
now they want our pride, our history,  
our spiritual traditions.  
They want to rewrite and remake these things,  
to claim them for themselves.  
The lies and thefts just never end.

—Margo Thunderbird  
American Indian writer

*Opposite :A landscape near Jerusalem*  
Engraving, 1817, from  
*Travels in Araby*  
of Lady Hester Stanhope.  
Overleaf: *View of Jerusalem*,  
engraving by W. H. Bartlett, 1847.

# Acknowledgments

*I would like to thank the Native American people, who simply by the manner of their lives, gave me the gift of new eyes to see the open veins of Jerusalem. I would like to thank their warriors and brilliant thinkers who, by their insight, wisdom and bravery, taught me dedication. I offer my sincere appreciation to Word Churchill, Annette Jaimes, Jack Weatherford, Russell Means, Rex Weyler and many more Native American writers whose writings and insights proved helpful and inspiring. And I must thank Dr. Richard Popkin for kindly making available to me his insightful guidance concerning "The [European] Christian roots of Zionism."*

*There are so many people to acknowledge, too numerous to list, who played some part in this new issue of Jusoor directly or indirectly, whether they know it or not. But first I feel it is crucial for me to apologize to the readers and subscribers, and all those who waited patiently (and impatiently) for me to finish.*

*The Open Veins of Jerusalem could not have been published without some very important people, especially those who worked in the background and even from their homes in other states, or Europe, or in the Arab World. It is very important for me to name Dr. Khaeld Abdullah, Dr. Hala Salam Maksoud, Dr. Rashid Al Mubarak, Dr. Israel Shahak, Dr. Saleh Abdel Jawad, Dr. Roger Allen and Aisha Alsaggaf, who helped set this issue of Jusoor into motion, or kept it moving forward, with their active encouragement help along the way.*

*There are many brilliant people I must thank for their talented wordsmith touch: Sharif Elmusa, Lynne Rogers, Noel Abdelahad, my daughter Kinda and of course the golden touch of Daniel Moore.*

*I have to thank my dear friend Fouad Moughrabi for honoring me and Jusoor by accepting my invitation to become visiting editor of this special issue. I thank him from the bottom of my heart for giving me some of the best advice I ever had out of his great knowledge and experience.*

*I hope all those extraordinary people understand that their spirit lives within this issue of Jusoor in the most positive way.*

*Finally I have to admit that all the great work in this issue exists thanks to these wonderful people and that every mistake in it is mine.*

**Munir Akash**

## THE OPEN VEINS OF JERUSALEM

"If our culture is dissolved, Indian people *as such* will cease to exist. By definition, the causing of any culture to cease to exist is an act of genocide. That's a matter of international law; look it up in the 1948 Genocide Convention."

--Russel Means, American Indian writer and activist.

Today, in May of 1998, the debate regarding the significance of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine is heating up. In the United States, powerful forces have been promoting "Israel's 50th" with euphoria as the ideal occasion for a national celebration of American triumphalism— New England has now a new colony: Palestine.

This triumphant view of history adopted by mainstream ideologues was officially crafted by President Clinton in videotape remarks for the CBS special "To Life: America Celebrates Israel's 50th." The President expressed the emotional American "understanding of the suffering and the dreams of the [Jewish] people from biblical times through modern times." He also tried to emphasize the "moral imperative" in supporting the fourteenth New England colony in God's new-Israel, and he even reiterated the myth of "making a once barren desert bloom"—the old conquistadorial weapon of extermination of a savage indigenous population.

In 1948, when Israel's chief rabbi came to the White House to express his gratitude, and when the tears streamed



down President Truman's cheeks, there was in Palestine only one desert, the Negev desert. Fifty years later, when the tears streamed down President Clinton's cheeks, the only thing that has bloomed in this desert is the Dimona nuclear reactor.

But what harm there in altering a few facts to make a good historical novel? Ward Churchill, the American Indian scholar, lays waste to the innocence of this question, stating: "It becomes dehumanizing and a tool to justify murder under the guise of aesthetic freedom." A triumphant view of history can be an insidious political force and may be seen as the historical requirement of a genocide process. "During each phase of the genocide of American Indians, stereotyping, literature, film and assimilation of culture have played critical roles by establishing complete control over truth and knowledge. They finally replace troops and guns as relevant tool of a conquest."

Had Germany won the Second World War, all Nazi leaders would surely be thus memorialized with tears streaming down a President's cheeks, their triumphant view of the history of their conquest and the genocide which accompanied it would be constructed in such fashion as to emphasize their achievements while rationalizing or obscuring their "excesses." But Germany lost, the crimes of its leaders shown for what they were. The difference here is that, unlike Germany, Israel won its war of conquest and extermination. So from the triumphant view of history, what harm is there in altering a few facts to make a good historical novel—to celebrate "Israel's 50th" or "Jerusalem 3000?" If I have ever wondered what it would be like to live in Poland or in the Ukraine 50 years after a nazi victory, all I would need to do is go to Jerusalem.

Palestine has hosted human civilized residence for at least eight thousand years. The area now called Jerusalem has been for at least six thousand years a remarkably open, inter-cultural city. For only a little more than 1% of this six millennia, Jerusalem and *parts* of Palestine were conquered three interrupted times by Israelite nomads, Hebrews and

European Zionists in an attempt to annihilate its inhabitants, replace them with outsiders, and uproot their cultures. Yet the triumphant view of history—certified by a camera-ready false witness at the White House—pretends that that 1% covers uninterruptedly the entire long cultural chronicle of Palestine in general and Jerusalem in particular, and that this is actually all that matters.

The atrocities committed in an attempt to annihilate the inhabitants and to erase their rich cultures were behind the tragic end of their conquest when they found themselves driven out of Palestine. “He who live by the sword shall die by the sword.” Their occupation of Jerusalem and *parts* of Palestine endured less than the French occupation of Algeria, the English occupation of India or the apartheid regime in south africa. Ironically, during the last eight thousand years without interruption, the area now called Kuwait was—historically, demographically and geographically—part of the history of Iraq.

Archaeology and the texts (Biblical and political documents from throughout the region) as stated by the American archeologist, John Worell, “demonstrate that although leaders were sometimes exiled, Jerusalem and other cities and villages throughout the land were not depopulated nor simply replaced with outsiders. The majority of the population appear to have remained, tending the fields, flocks and shops. Jerusalem has been occupied by ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Crusaders, Turks, and assorted other outsiders. But from the early Canaanite periods through the latest Islamic ones, archaeology describes transitions of cultures and peoples that are far more gradual than drastic. The standard picture of serial invasions replacing one culture with another is not only far too simplistic—it is basically wrong. The history of this land and its people has been, instead, primarily a rich tale of cultural development. Regardless of how peaceful or belligerent a new

group may have been, we find each successive wave learning from and interacting with those already here: Canaanites, Philistines, and Israelites; Semites, Greeks, and Romans; Jews, Christians, and Muslims--to name only some of the most familiar categories."

"As far back as the written and material evidences can carry us, people calling this city home have been born and died, worked and played, cooperated and fought, worshipped together and separately. But repeatedly throughout less enlightened periods of history, they have also seen their lands confiscated, homes demolished, and family members deported. Such actions are not particularly new. What is different now is the declaration by one group to the world at large that this is a unique instance in which modern universal rights and laws do not apply," and that replacing one culture with another, obliterating a country from the maps, exposing people to annihilation could be done with two mandates, one from God and the other from the United States of America. Then the triumphant view of history will assume that this genocide was a regrettable necessity, a collateral damage and nothing more.

History, however, has other goals.

Israel has no future in the harmonious fraternity of peoples, unless it becomes faithful to the admirable Abrahamic faith of the prophets, whose goal was not colonialist military conquest, but illumination of the divine message on the whole earth. A Promised Land cannot be a stolen land, for there is a very big difference between faith and triumphant history, between Divinity and barbarism, between Judaism and the jungle law.

*The Open Veins of Jerusalem* is a modest attempt to counter the great harm done by a triumphant view of history in altering a few facts to make a good historical novel.

***Jusoor***



## THE STRANGER

*Translated by Noel Abdulahad*

O Jesus Christ  
when you roam  
through the streets of Hebron  
or down Bethlehem's lanes  
in this night's cold,  
and wander from Beit Ania  
and Bir Zait  
envelop yourself  
with your woolen cloak,  
for the night is snowing,  
the wind is screaming.

Let not the random sight  
of the corpses of slaughtered children  
frighten you.

Let not the presence of barricades  
or the ruins of demolished houses  
in the dreary chill of this night  
stir your surprise.

*Jusoor – The stranger*

Be not shocked  
if a nocturnal phantom appears  
pointing its gun,  
and ordering you: “Hands up!”

Let not blemished faces  
and hateful places  
horrify you,  
for Rachel is busy  
seducing a soldier  
and Ruth is mocking her  
for her failure to make him  
a victim.

Wrap yourself tight in your woolen mantle,  
envelope your weary face with sadness,  
fold your thoughts with cheerlessness,

kneel and pray

for all who are present here  
suffer not only from loneliness  
but also from exile.

Addresses were changed  
language too  
all things turned upside-down.

Kneel and pray  
for every day  
they are crucifying you.

Martha and Mary were displaced,  
trampling aimlessly in the prairies.  
Lazarus made to suffer again  
the exhalation of a spiteful death.

And wretched Time  
is coloring this age.

*Khalil Al-Khoury*

**Khalil Al-Khoury**, Syrian poet, published many collections of poems and translated into Arabic works of Rimbaud and others.





*Jews at the Wailing Wall, engraving by W. H. Bartlett, the seventeenth century.*

## JERUSALEM AND THE JEWS

Discussion of anything related to the subject of the Jews and their real beliefs presents difficulties. The first difficulty is that the term "Jewish" as used during the last 150 years has two different meanings. It has not always been so. Let us take year 1780 as a point of comparison. Then the universally accepted meaning of the term "Jew" coincided with self-identification of Jews themselves. Although the Jewish identity was then primarily religious, both the Jews themselves and the peoples they had contact with regarded them as a nation, differing from other nations mainly by the virtue of their religion. For the Jews that view was crystallized long before 1780, in the oft-repeated saying of the tenth century Sage, Rabbi Sa'adiah He'gaon who lived in the tenth century mainly in Iraq : "Our nation owes its very nationhood to its religious law." That law not only governed all aspects of life, both public and private of the Jews, but also commanded a strict separation between them and the non-Jews. The experience up to 1780 could confirm the saying of this tenth century Sage. It was then literally true that a Jew could not even drink a glass of water in a home of a non-Jew.

From then on, however, this situation was altered by two parallel processes. One of them was the process which Jewish historiography calls "Emancipation of the Jews." From its bare beginning in Holland and England of the seventeenth century, it

came to fruition in revolutionary France and the independent U.S. and then in countries following in the footsteps of those pioneers, including the monarchies of the nineteenth century. In the Emancipation process, the Jews gained a significant level of individual rights—in some cases full legal status—as a result of which the legal authority of the Jewish community over its members was annulled. For example, if a Jew was, in 1780, noticed by his fellow Jews drinking a glass of water in a home of a non-Jew, he could be legally punished by his own Jewish community. Punishment for such a "sin" could include flogging and fines. In 1880 this was in most places no longer possible. The second process is a corollary of the first. When already "emancipated" and not subject to the tyrannical rule of their rabbis, some Jews could to a greater or lesser extent renounce a part of their Jewish heritage and accept modern views. This of course marked profound changes not only in their behavior but also in their attitudes. Extreme cases included the Jews who remained Jews only in the sense of not converting to another religion, but who otherwise might have lost all interest in any Jewish subjects.

Even if we ignore the last category—as I am going to do—the term "Jewish" now applies to two populations which have little in common. In particular, their views on anything "Jewish," including Jerusalem and the Jews, are as a rule very different and often diametrically opposed. By now there exist no more qualities "common to all Jews" and there is no common "Jewish" view on anything, least of all on the issue of Jerusalem.

Since I am most familiar with Israeli conditions and because the attitudes of the Israeli Jews to Jerusalem are in any case going to have particular political importance, I am going to confine my presentation to different attitudes toward the issue of Jerusalem held by different segments of Israeli Jewish society, and to an examination of the roots of those attitudes in the Jewish past. The dominant view of modern Israeli

sociologists and pollsters is that Israeli Jewish society is divided into two segments nearly equal in size. It is the attitude toward the Jewish religion, its observance and influence on political issues which is the most important single factor defining one's affiliation with one or another of those segments which in popular parlance are known as "Israel A" and "Israel B." In terms of political distinctions, one is comprised of Likud, other right-wing parties and all religious parties, and the other of Labor and all left-wing parties. One bloc stands for continuation, full or more often partial only, of the Jewish religious tradition and the other for modifying its tenets considerably by features of modernity.

Let me quote in this context some data from an article by one of the most reputable Israeli sociologists, Baruch Kimmerling (*Z'manim*, no. 50-51, autumn 1994) significantly entitled "Religion, Nationalism and Democracy in Israel." Quoting from numerous research studies, Kimmerling shows conclusively that Israeli Jewish society is much more split on religious issues than is supposed abroad, where the belief in qualities "common to all Jews" and attendant generalizations are much less challenged than in Israel, obviously for political reasons. For example, Kimmerling quotes the data of a survey made by the prestigious Gutman Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, to the effect that while 19% of Israeli Jews say that they pray daily, 19% declare that they would not enter a synagogue under any circumstances. Let me add that those Jews refuse to enter a synagogue as a principled protest against the Orthodox Jewish religion, a phenomenon unknown in non-Israeli Jewish communities, but which could be compared by the attitude of some radical Christians to the Christian church, for example in France. From this and from similar findings, Kimmerling draws the conclusion that each of the above-mentioned blocs contains a hard core of believers in opposite tenets. I quite agree.

Let me proceed to attitudes toward Jerusalem. I am going

to begin with the attitudes of religious Jews in Israel which are traceable to what I would call "classical Judaism," i.e. that Judaism which was adhered to by the entire Jewish society from roughly the first till the end of the eighteenth century AD, and which has still retained its influence upon about a half of Israeli Jewish society. I am not going here to refer to the Bible or Judaism in Biblical times, since "classical Judaism" was really molded later, by the Talmud. Biblical influence, revived precisely by the Jews who rebelled against "classical Judaism" is influential only in the case of those Jews who accepted a modern outlook, especially among precisely that hard core of the Israeli Jews which refuse to enter a synagogue under any circumstances. It is such Jews only who are in the habit of quoting the prophetic exhortations for justice and mercy in relation to Israeli treatment of the Palestinians. I am not going to refer either to what goes under the name of "Judeo-Christian tradition," which in my view is a concoction on a par with Stalin's "Marxism-Leninism." Nor am I going to deal with other popular terms such as the "Abrahamic tradition" which, in my view, are sheer nonsense.

It is quite apparent to anyone conversant with the literature produced by "classical Judaism" throughout the ages that Jerusalem appears in it primarily as the town where the Temple stood. It is the Temple and even more the animal sacrifices performed in it which evoked deepest Jewish feelings, accompanied by sorrow and mentioned in the daily prayers and many special lamentations composed since its destruction by the Romans in 70 AD. In contrast to many volumes of "classical Judaism" scholarship discussing in the greatest detail the Temple and the animal sacrifices, town of Jerusalem is minuscule. It is the Temple and its sacrifices which are constantly referred to in Jewish prayers. Zionist and other Jewish propagandists use of those prayers is as remote from their content as Stalin's use of quotations from Marx. Such falsification is possible only because most Christians and

Muslims (and Jews who don't know Hebrew) tend to know next to nothing about Judaism, either classical or modern.

For example, the oft-quoted exclamation "Next year in Jerusalem" is indeed a part of the Passover Eve celebration, which many secular Jews also continue to observe in the ancient manner. But in what context does this exclamation appear in that ceremony? It is preceded by solemn prayer asking God to restore soon the animal sacrifices in the Temple. In that happy time, the prayer says, the Jews will rejoice in "the sight of blood of sheep to be thrown at the side of the [Temple's] altar, to give Thee pleasure, O Lord." The exclamation follows then, and is in turn followed by a poem which looks forward to the actual sacrifice of a sheep already during the next year's Passover Eve celebration. It is clear that the original meaning, still held by many Jews, of the "Next year in Jerusalem" exclamation is that "next year the blood of a sheep will be thrown at a side of an altar in a rebuilt Temple."

Or take another prayer, said three times a day in the important "Eighteen [really nineteen] Blessings" which contains the oft-quoted passage: "And let our eyes behold when Thou shall return to Zion." Again, let us investigate the context in which God is asked to grant this request. It is preceded by a passage in which God is asked to accept not only the present prayers of the Jews but their future "burn offerings" and the just quoted passage about God's return to Zion (a term which in "classical Judaism" means usually "the Temple") continues: "And there we shall offer to Thee our obligatory sacrifices." The Zionist literature does not usually quote this crucial continuation.

But, what is perhaps the best illustration of liturgical attachment of "classical Judaism" to the Temple, the animal services once offered in it, and the hope that this kind of worship will be restored, occurs on the most sacred day of the liturgical year of "classical Judaism," the Day of Atonement [Yom Kippur]. In the "Additional Prayer" [Musaf] said around



noon of that day the congregation relives, till this very day, by means of hymns and other prayers how the High Priest offered sacrifices and conducted other ceremonies when the Temple existed. Although poetic parts of this "Order of the Service of the High Priest in the Temple on the Day of Atonement" exist in several versions in different Jewish communities (the Talmudic parts are the same) I will quote the version used by the Ashkenazi Jews. After a poetic summary of world history from its creation and the earliest history of the Jews, the hymn passes to the Temple's ceremonies. After describing the High Priest's night of vigil, they begin: "They whose lot was drawn to remove the ashes from the altar, rejoiced... As soon as the watchman proclaimed that the morning star had risen they spread a veil of fine linen to conceal the High Priest from the sight of the people. He then put off his linen garments, bathed and put on the golden garments... Slew the daily morning burnt-offering [i.e. sacrifice made every day] and commanded another [priest] to complete it, he received the blood and sprinkled it and poured out the drink-offering [of wine]... They again spread a veil before him as at first, there he washed his hands and feet and put off his golden garments, he then went and bathed and put on the white garments, worth 18 talents, beautiful to serve in them the King of Glory!" From this point the special Day of Atonement service begins, in which the High Priest used to sacrifice a bull for the atonement of the sins of the priests and a he-goat for the atonement of the sins of the people (to mark their inferiority) and other animals as well. "He [the High Priest] then drew to his own bull placed between the porch and the altar with its body turned to the west and head twisted and turned towards the south. He put his hand on bull's head and confessed his sins." The text of the confession then follows, beginning with the words: "Please O Name." When the Temple existed, this was the moment when the High Priest used the real name of God, instead of the substitute "My Lord" [Adonai] used usually. In memory of this, a Talmudic passage is chanted

at this point. "And the priests and people who stood in the Court, on hearing the glorious, tremendous and ineffable Name uttered by the mouth of High Priest with holiness and purity, kneeled, prostrated themselves, fell on their faces and said: 'Blessed is the Name of the glorious majesty, forever and ever'." The Jewish congregations now also kneel and then fall on their faces at this point (an almost unique act in Jewish worship) in memory of what was done in the Temple.

The hymn continues to describe the offering by the High Priest of two he-goats, one to be sacrificed to God and another to be sent as an offer to a devil called "Azazel" ["fierce god"] to be thrown from a rock in a desert. After that business was finished, the High Priest "drew a second time to his bull" and made a second confession, also using the real name of God and duly followed now by chanting of the passage "And the priests and people..." with the congregation kneeling and falling on their faces again. The hymn then continues: "and he [High Priest] then took a sharp knife and slew the bull according to the rule; received its blood in the bowl and gave it to him [a priest] who stirred it so that it will not congeal before the time of the sprinkling; for if it had congealed so that it could not have been sprinkled, it would have prevented [God's] forgiveness." The High Priest then put some flaming coals into a gold vessel, put incense on them, entered the Holy of Holies in the Temple itself, put the censer there "and then went out. He then took the blood from the person who stirred it, and quickly entered [the Temple] again and dipping his finger into the blood, performed atonement by sprinkling [the Temple] once above and seven times below." The same procedure is then described as performed with the blood of a he-goat sacrificed for the purpose, after which the sprinkling is repeated with the blood of the bull, then again with the blood of the he-goat. Finally the High Priest "mixed the blood [of the two sacrificed animals] and purified the golden altar by sprinkling seven times on the middle of it and four times on its corners. He then

hastened and came near the live he-goat and confessed to God the sins of the people." The recitation of the third confession is again followed by chanting of the passage "And the priests and people..." with the congregation kneeling and falling on their faces again.

After more ceremonies, the hymn describes how the High Priest "took a sharp knife and cut the [carcass off] the bull and he-goat; he rent them asunder, took out their entrails and suspended their flesh on hooks to be afterwards burnt. He read the order of the day, washed his hands and feet, put off linen garments, bathed the third time, put on the golden garments and washed his hands and feet. He hastened and sacrificed his ram and the people's ram and thee fat of sin-sacrifice and the additional offerings according to the Law." I omit the many additional ceremonies, except that they conclude by a summary of High Priest's "washing his feet and hands ten times." But the hymn goes on: "The perfect nation conducted the faithful messenger to his house... the heavens dropped dew, furrows were watered and gave good yield... the nation was made perfectly pure and clean as those [the angels] whose purity is renewed every morning... Happy the people who are thus! Happy the people whose God is the Lord!"

Here ends the hymn, seemingly composed around the seventh century AD, but piously recited till this very day with, as those who are conversant with the Jewish liturgy know, the greatest religious feeling imaginable. It is followed by a series of other hymns, of which I will just mention one praising the sight of a High Priest on the end of the above described Day of Atonement sacrifices, in which the Cantor and the congregation repeat antiphonally his praises. Let me quote some passages. "Cantor: 'As the brightness of the canopy of heavens!' Congregation answers: 'Was the sight of the Priest!' Cantor: 'As the morning star on eastern borders!' Congregation answers: 'Was the sight of the Priest!'" There follow some heart-rending lamentations ("Happy the eye that saw all these things, but

truly, to hear them saddens our soul") and hopes that reciting the story of the sacrifices will have the same effect as the sacrifices themselves ("May the recitation of these things procure forgiveness") since the God knows that "we have no High Priest to offer a sacrifice and no altar to offer on it a burnt-offering." A special prayer is devoted to enumeration of all the holy vessels and ceremonies present in the Temple and lacking today. The final prayers of this part of service attribute all the present Jewish troubles to the loss of the Temple, destroyed for the sins of the people and ask God quickly to rebuilt it.

I have quoted extensively from the religious service which was not only said for many hundreds of years but is still said today in countless synagogues. At the same time, I don't think that many, if any, of the countless descriptions of current Judaism intended for the benefit of non-Jews have described what I have shown using the ordinary Day of Atonement prayer book, often translated to many languages. They do describe the Day of Atonement and its prayers, but only in a manner convenient for Jewish propaganda. I compared above the use of Jewish prayers by propagandists to Stalin's use of quotations from Marx. Let me add that, in my view, most if not all current descriptions of Judaism (including its attitudes to Jerusalem) intended for the benefit of non-Jews can be compared to the descriptions by fellow travelers of the USSR under Stalin's rule.

Needless to say, no secular or even merely traditional Jew would like to see sacrifices being offered again in a restored Temple. No secular Zionist politician, from Weizman and Ben-Gurion through Begin to Rabin, Peres and Netanyahu has looked forward "to seeing the blood of a sheep thrown at a side of an altar" in a Jewish Temple or to see, perhaps even on the TV, the High Priest putting his finger into the blood of a freshly sacrificed animal and sprinkling the Temple with it. It can be presumed that they are actually afraid of such thing ever happening. What they want is to manipulate the real feelings of the religious Jews (or the nostalgic feelings of some modern

Jews) for their own purposes and, even more, to impress non-Jews with quotations taken out of their historic Jewish context. But their policies with regard to Jerusalem have not been based on considerations rooted in the Jewish past or Jewish religion.

The pilgrimage of pious Jews to Jerusalem, let alone their settlement in it, which has continued since the destruction of the Temple, was also motivated by the deep attachment to the site of the destroyed Temple and the wish for its restoration. When a pious Jew sees for the first time the Temple Mount (Haram Al-Sharif), he makes a small tear in his shirt or cloak as a sign of mourning. This is the same ritual that he performs during the funeral of his nearest relatives. His destination was always the place either nearest to the site of the Temple or allowing the best look at it. Actually, the role of the Wailing Wall as such a site, is relatively recent in historical terms. For many centuries the place that pious Jews considered holiest in Jerusalem area was the Mount of Olives, because it afforded the best view of the Temple's site. The holiness of the Wailing Wall dates from the end of the fifteenth century, when personal security outside the walls of Jerusalem was precarious and visits to the Mount of Olives were dangerous even during daytime. The holiness of the Wailing Wall was popularized and emphasized in all Jewish diasporas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Jewish mysticism (the Cabbala) which then dominated Jewish religion and culture. The Cabbalist doctrine, previously unheard of in Judaism, that prayer in a holy place will be heard and answered by God sooner and with better chances than a prayer offered elsewhere, mightily helped the notion of the Wailing Wall's holiness. This tenet was soon extended to written prayers inserted between the Wall's stones so popular since 1967.

However, it needs to be emphasized that this profound attachment to the site of the Temple coexisted with the strict ruling prohibiting the Jews to visit it. In order to explain this paradox, I have to say something about the actual Jewish

religion in the period before 70 AD, when the Temple still stood. At that time Judaism included very detailed rules of purity and impurity (mentioned in passing in the Gospels). Only a Jew in a state of ritual purity could enter the Inner Court of the Temple where the animal sacrifices took place, and see the carcasses of the animals burnt devoutly on the Great Altar. The Temple itself was only a small building surrounded by large Courts. That building was accessible only to Jewish priests in a state of purity. Entry of an impure Jew to the inner Temple Courts or service in the Temple by an impure priest was considered a heinous sin and a sacrilege. There were many ways in which a Jew could become impure, but the chief and the most "contagious"—to use a modern expression—among them was a contact, however indirect, with a Jewish corpse or even with a tiniest part of a Jewish bone from no matter how long a past. (Incidentally, Talmud rules that only the dead body of a Jew causes impurity. Dead bodies of non-Jews do not have this effect). For example, if a Jew merely found himself in a Jewish cemetery or on a house where another Jew died, all the Jews whom he subsequently as much as touched with the tip of his little finger become impure.

Impure Jews could become repurified, however, through a complicated ritual of seven days' duration. For our purposes it suffices to mention what happened on its third and seventh day. The still impure Jew had to be sprinkled by a pure priest with water containing a tiny portion of the ashes of a Red Heifer (see Book of Numbers, chapter 19). Red Heifers were from time to time sacrificed on the Mount of Olives, but only by a pure priest. They had to be fully red; two hairs which were not red sufficed to disqualify them. Since a ritual state of purity was required not only for the entry to the Temple Courts but for numerous other acts of Jewish worship, many Jews of those times preferred to keep themselves pure at all times to please God. (Those who kept themselves impure except on the occasions where they had to be purified were despised and as



the Gospels describe Jesus was blamed for eating with them). In order to let the Jews repurify themselves, portions of Red Heifer's ashes were periodically distributed across the Jewish-inhabited Palestine. We possess evidence that some remains of Red Heifer's ashes were kept in the Galilee until as late as the sixth century AD and that some priests kept themselves pure until then in the expectation of the Temple being rebuilt soon.

Since that time, however, all the Jews find themselves in the state of ritual impurity. Hence religious commandment forbids them not only to enter the site of the Inner Temple Courts but also to rebuild the Temple itself, which also requires purity. Let me add here that all non-Jews, who according to "classical Judaism" are not only impure but can never be purified were forbidden to enter the site of the Inner Temple Courts. The Roman government had, till the Great Rebellion of 66-70 AD, upheld that prohibition, as shown in a famous inscription in Greek which threatened a non-Jew with death if he will enter the Inner Temple Courts. In modern times, Chief Rabbinate's proclamation (at least in its Hebrew version) also prohibits Non-Jews and Jews from entering the Temple Mount. The Jews who are visiting the Temple Mount all the time, whether from Israel or other countries, are precisely those who, as mentioned above, rebelled against "classical Judaism." The rabbis and the Israeli Jewish religious parties, on the other hand, would like to close the Temple Mount to everybody, including the Muslim worshipers in Al-Aqsa mosque, since in their view their entry desecrates the sanctity of the site no less so than the entry of infidel Jews. Those sacrilegious visits continue and are being encouraged only because all Israeli governments have, so far, been secular. Interestingly, the deeply religious Jewish Underground which wanted to blow up the Temple Mount mosques did so only after receiving a rabbinical opinion that a short and one-time entry of impure Jews to the holy site for such holy purpose was preferable to its long-term desecration.

It follows that the tiny groups of Jews who desire to rebuild the Temple, or as some of them do, the Great Altar alone or those who enter the Temple Mount in order to pray there, can only be described as Jewish heretics. They are mostly freaks and ignoramuses, fiercely repudiated by all truly religious and many secular Jews. Their exaggerated importance derives from the media which likes to record their antics and from the ignorance of the Muslim clergy and scholars (who are very sensitive about such attempts) about the real Judaism.

But the impurity of religious Jews is not only caused by the lack of Red Heifer's ashes. Plenty of fully red cows were found in all kinds of places around the world and brought to Israel where they are lovingly tended in expectation of being used as soon as possible. But a "Catch 22" situation exists here. As mentioned above, the priest who sacrifices the Red Heifer must himself be pure. Otherwise the sacrifice is void and can have no purifying effect. Since all the Jews, including all their priests are impure for at least 1,400 years and their daily life contributes all the time to their impurity, no pure priest can be found to sacrifice the Red Heifer. It is believed that one of the tasks of the Messiah would be to find, or perhaps to bring from heaven, old Red Heifer's ashes and so initiate the process of purification. But in the absence of the Messiah nothing can be done. Some Gush Emunim stalwarts may possibly "find" an old pot with rubbish and proclaim it to contain Red Heifer ashes. Yet it can be taken for granted that almost all the rabbis would denounce such a "discovery" with horror and attribute to it no validity.

Nevertheless, the feelings religious Jews have about the Temple and its site can often, but not always, have political manifestations. Religious Jews in Israel can be divided into two categories: those who support, or sympathize with the National Religious Party, often called "messianists" and those called "Haredim" [God-fearing] whose observance of the commandments of "classical Judaism" is much stricter. The

split runs very deep: each category has a separate school system and separate systems of religious rules. There is also one important theological difference between them. The "messianists" believe that the coming of the Messiah is imminent and "the quality of time has changed" with the entire world being in a new era of "The beginning of Redemption." The task of the Jews in this era is to prepare the best conditions for the imminent Messiah. The confiscation of Arab land in Jerusalem, to give but one example, and the many ways of oppressing the Palestinians have for them a theological purpose. Ideally, according to Jewish religious law [halacha] non-Jews are not allowed to reside in Jerusalem, although they may visit it. In addition, no places of worship of any non-Jewish religion should be tolerated in Jerusalem, as they were not tolerated before 70 AD. (Readers of Josephus Flavius will recall that the Jews believed in those tenets in the last centuries of the Temple's existence). In other words, the "messianists" believe that the less non-Jews would be present in Jerusalem the more God will be pleased and the faster "the beginning of the Redemption" will turn into the full-fledged "Redemption".

The Haredim, however, deny such theological presumptions. According to them, the time has not changed. The sole aim of Israeli policy should be the welfare of the Jews (but, of course, not of the non-Jewish citizens of Israel). Land confiscations in Jerusalem are permissible when they serve that aim. If they elicit too much protest, they should be desisted from. Thus, the "messianists" are isolated even among the religious Jews. They could never accomplish anything, whether on the issue of Jerusalem or on anything else, without their secular Israeli Jewish allies. This is why I need now to discuss that segment of Israeli-Jewish society in terms of its attitude toward Jerusalem.

Let me begin with the question of what is known and unknown about Jerusalem by Israeli Jews with secular education, who spend their adult lives in a thoroughly secular

social milieu. Jewish education in Israel (let alone in the diasporas where the situation is much worse in this respect) is chauvinistic. Its chauvinism expresses itself in the first place in ignoring, or minimizing to the extent possible the role of any non-Jews who ever inhabited Palestine or played any role in its history. The more popular media reinforce this notion, inculcated by the education as much as they can. It is, for example, taught in Jewish schools and believed by a great majority of Israeli Jews, against all historical and archaeological evidence, that Palestine flourished only when it was ruled or inhabited by Jews. This pernicious myth is also applied to Jerusalem. Its long history before its conquest by king David (around 1,000 BC, the exact date is quite uncertain) is either ignored or barely mentioned. The history of the roughly 1,000 years afterwards, from the time of this conquest till the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 AD, when Jerusalem was an Israelite and then a Jewish city, is taught in greatest detail. Thereafter, the history of the city is taught in the Israeli Jewish schools or discussed in public very selectively: taking into account only what relates to the Jews. The existence of non-Jews and especially of their rulers in Jerusalem during that long time cannot be ignored completely, but it is discussed solely from the point of view of their attitude to the Jews rather as a subject in its own right.

This assumption is a secularized version of a notion found in Hebrew religious poetry written throughout the ages, which invariably described the city of Jerusalem as being "ruined" or "humiliated" when it was in fact well-inhabited and much honored, but by the non-Jews. This can be illustrated from a hymn written by the Sage, Rabenu [our rabbi] Gershon Ne'or Hagola [the light of the Diaspora] who lived in West Germany in the tenth century AD and is regarded till this day as an important authority (for example, it is he who prohibited bigamy among European Jews). The hymn, sung even now towards the end of Day of Atonement prayers, [called after its

opening Hebrew words "Ezkra Elohim ve-ehemya"], begins: "I recall, O God and I am sorrowing that, while every town is built up and flourishes, God's City is humiliated till [it is in] the deepest part of Hell." Needless to say, Jerusalem flourished in tenth century AD. But, a more important question should be asked about religious Jews who recite this hymn now, everywhere. Why is God's City so humiliated right now in their eyes? only because there is no Temple with animal sacrifices in it.

That attitude, as currently applied throughout the Territories, has been described by Meron Benvenisti (*Haaretz*, April 27, 1995). He regards it as a manifestation of "conceptual ethnic cleansing i.e. of erasing the others from one's consciousness. It cannot be attributed to chance that the so-called 'peace process with the Palestinians' is in the [Israeli] Jewish society accompanied by high incidence of ethnocentrism approaching racism, tribal forms of morality and failure to distinguish between the moral right to exist and moral obligation to behave decently." Benvenisti concludes, rightly in my view, that "the Oslo process, resultant ideology of segregation and the resultant security considerations are intended to vest [Israeli] ethnic cleansing with an aura of respectability. Sure, my use of that term may be viewed as a manifestation of extremism compared to its usual use as an elegant term for expulsions and mass murders. But in my view ethnic cleansing may also be more limited in time. A closure of the Territories or a curfew intended to cleanse the public space from the presence of 'others' are perfect examples of such conceptual ethnic cleansing limited in time." The goings-on in Jerusalem are perhaps better known than the goings-on in the West Bank, but the policies are the same.

Incidentally, let me say emphatically that this pernicious attitude is not propagated by the Israeli archaeologists, as some Arab intellectuals seem to believe, since it is so discrepant with archaeological findings. No archeologist can deny that before

the nineteenth century the time at which Palestine (and also Jerusalem) was most prosperous was the late Roman and early Byzantine period (roughly from early fourth to mid-sixth century), when the great majority of its inhabitants were Christians many of whom spoke Greek. The Israeli archeology has its flaws but it exerts a moderating influence on Israeli Jewish chauvinists.

The described attitude of secular Israeli Jewish chauvinists, however bad, still cannot be reconciled with the "classical Judaism" in whose name Israel as a "Jewish state" claims exclusive "historical rights" over the "united Jerusalem." It is because the sacred aspects of Jewish past, especially the Temple and the animal sacrifices are totally repugnant to secular Jewish chauvinists and their restoration would be most unwelcome to them. For example, the Israeli leading paper *Haaretz* published in its Eve of Passover Supplement of April 14, 1995, an article describing how the Temple really looked when it functioned and animal sacrifices were offered in it. Its title was "The Holy Butcher Shop." (I have a slight suspicion that if a Jewish-related article under that title would appear in the U.S. press, there would be a major scandal. In Israel there was none). The article, using the best Talmudic sources, described how the Temple Courts used to actually look like during their supposed glory, and how the daily total of hundreds (or occasionally even thousands) of sheep and bulls burned there in whole or in part as sacrifices, affected life in Jerusalem. The smell, for modern nostrils at least, must have been unbearable. As to the other details, it is enough to say that the article pointed out that the sacrificed animal had to be skinned and then divided into six portions: the four feet and the upper and lower parts of the body. All that holy work was carried by pure priests in the Inner Temple Court in the full sight of the people. After all this skinning and carving, there was a lottery to determine which priest would get the coveted privilege of, say, putting a bloody leg of a bull on his shoulder and running

to throw it on the fire blazing on the Great Altar. Other priests were baking pancakes from the sacred flour and oil on open ovens scattered around the Inner Court in order to throw them on the Great Altar to be burned, or in some cases to be eaten by priests.

Incidentally, there exists voluminous literature written throughout the ages by rabbinical sages, discussing e.g. how exactly the sacrificed sheep should be skinned. The authorities are not always in agreement on such important religious points. Some Gush Emunim stalwarts spend their entire time in studying this literature in special yeshivot. The most notorious of them, Ateret Cohanim ["the priests' diadem"] is combining the job of training priests in offering animal sacrifices with acquiring—not necessarily in the most legal ways—Palestinian property in the Old City of Jerusalem in order to settle pious Jews there. Perhaps, if it would be known more about the twin purposes of Ateret Cohanim the world's public opinion would express itself about the dangers inherent in it. But ignorance about Jewish affairs, past and present, precludes any serious discussion of the aims of such institutions. This ignorance can exceed any limit. For example, in the voluminous literature about the times of Jesus I have not yet run across any description of how the Temple looked when He was preaching there. The formation of such nonsensical concepts like "Judeo-Christian tradition" can be attributed to such ignorance.

My presentation of the operations of the Temple might have been scanty, but it will suffice to understand why their resumption can only be resented by any secular Jew, no matter how chauvinist. It will be all the more the case if all these gory details are shown on TV across the world. Although pious Jews would surely cherish that prospect, for the secular ones it can only be extremely repugnant.

Time for a political conclusion. I will not offer here any "solution" but repeat what one of the founders of modern science, Francis Bacon, said: "Knowledge is power." Whoever

deprives himself of accurate and detailed knowledge, deprives himself of the power not only to change for better but even of the power to understand what a given situation really is. No amount of, for example, discussing the U.N. resolutions can substitute for power resting on detailed knowledge. Knowledge of the different attitudes of the Jews to Jerusalem should be a part of the knowledge of human beings who are interested in that city and in Palestine and who desire that this city will become a city where all its inhabitants and all those who visit it may really flourish in equality and peace.

*Israel Shahak*

\* **Dr. Israel Shahak**, a Holocaust survivor and professor emeritus of chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, is chairman of the Israeli League of Human and Civil Rights and author of many books including *The Racism of the State of Israel* and *Jewish History, Jewish Religion*.





## **A JERUSALEM MEMOIR REFLECTIONS OF A NATIVE SON**

This is a personal memoir about my Jerusalem and what the city means to me as a Palestinian. I am fully aware of the fact that the fate of the city may ultimately be decided more by considerations of realpolitik than by the feelings, however intense, of those who are deeply affected, namely its native sons. Nonetheless, I offer this testimony for the historical record in order that future generations will know how one Jerusalemite, at least, has thought about the issues surrounding his city.

I was born on a hill overlooking Ein Kerem. From the top of that hill, one could easily see the skyline of Jerusalem during the day and its shining lights during the night. My father managed a resort run by the Anglican Church atop Jebel El-Rab (the hill of God). On Sundays, dignified people, including many Jews and foreigners, would come there for tea and dessert. Down in the valley where the beautiful village, known for its greenery, gardens, and scenic landscape, was nestled, the fields would be dotted with groups of picnickers from Jerusalem, out for a relaxing day in the country.

Ein Kerem is the birthplace of John the Baptist and Mary is said to have visited it before giving birth to Jesus. A recent story in the Christian Science Monitor observes that "Ein Kerem is one of the few places in the Holy Land where pilgrims

and residents can still savor a sense of the biblical landscape." It was a purely Arab village until 1948, with some Christians and some Muslims. It is now part of Jewish West Jerusalem, and no Arabs live there, the village having been emptied of its original inhabitants in 1948. Ehud Olmert, the right wing mayor of Jerusalem, wants to build more houses in the area in order to bolster the overall number of Jews in Jerusalem as a whole. The Jewish inhabitants, mostly highly educated professionals, prefer to keep it as is. Says Karl Perkal, one of the leaders of the residents' committee which is fighting development: "Ein Kerem is a magnet for Christians from abroad because they are pleased to come to a place that basically looks like it did when Jesus walked the land...This is also important to nature lovers because it is the last green space in Jerusalem. We've been fighting for a generation to keep developers out." (Christian Science Monitor, 9 February, 1998)

I recall going with my grandmother to the pine forest atop the mountain and down near the Russian convent to pick mushrooms. She would take time out to show me the various flowers which she called Hannoun. She had a specific name for each one and could tell me exactly what each was good for. Some were useful for an upset stomach and some for helping you go to sleep. For each ailment there seemed to be a remedy right there in those fields. And then there was the ubiquitous thyme (za'tar) which smelled strong and which we picked in abundance. She would dry some and later grind it and she would add some to the bread that she baked in an oven (known as furun) outside the house.

I also remember accompanying my grandmother during her daily trek to work in the fields or to take produce or fruits, which she carried in a wide basket on top of her head and walked the few kilometers to Jerusalem to sell it in Katamon. I still recall how she fondled the grapes or picked the figs in such a delicate manner in order to maintain their beautiful color and texture. I also remember her picking zucchini squash with drops

of dew on it and laying it carefully in her basket. She was, it seemed, one with the soil and its fruits. It is only now as I write this down and as the memories flood my soul that I fully realize the impact she had on me. I love going to a market to marvel at the beauty of such things and I fondle them with the same tenderness that she once showed me.

My grandmother, on my mother's side, was a tall woman with an imposing presence. She singlehandedly raised four boys and a girl while working the fields and selling the fruits of her labor in order to eke out a modest living for her family. Her face was already wrinkled well before the age when such marks were supposed to appear. It almost matched the topography of the land that she so carefully and diligently cultivated in much the same way that her forebears had done for thousands of years. The color of her face almost reflected the olives that she picked, pressed and ate. Her peasant hands were rough and firm but she was extremely gentle when she rubbed my body with olive oil as I lay in her lap.

On cold winter evenings, I remember falling asleep in her lap, next to an Aladdin kerosene stove, listening to the stories that I incessantly wanted to hear over and over again. She was happy to pass on the folklore that she had inherited. Years later, I discovered that many of these stories were in fact part of the Old Testament and the Koran. She was an illiterate woman but she knew her stories, passed on from one generation to the next, forming a common heritage and perhaps becoming part of the religious lore. As I lay there in her lap, I cannot help but remember the smell of her clothes and her body, a combination of fresh air mixed with the odor of sweat.

She was the matriarch of the family. Her husband played a peripheral role although he was granted the respect entitled to a dignified elder. Yet he was disabled and could not carry his share of the burden. Therefore, he often deferred to her in matters of consequence. But she never made him feel that she was the one who made these fateful decisions and she never let

on to the outside world that she was the one who ran the show.

She was feared and respected in the village because of her no-nonsense approach, her candor and her outspokenness about various issues. When my father came to ask for my mother's hand, fierce objections erupted among members of the extended family. Cousins laid first claim and argued against giving the young girl away to a foreigner who had no roots and no known relatives. My father was born in a neighboring village to a father who had migrated to Palestine from Algeria and to a Palestinian mother. Both of his parents died soon after he was born and he grew up in the Islamic orphanage in the Old City of Jerusalem. He learned a variety of skills including carpet weaving and cooking. Later he got a job at the resort atop Jebel El-Rab where he spotted my mother who often accompanied her mother as they came to sell eggs and produce. My grandmother made the controversial decision to give her only daughter away to this man and managed to convince her immediate family to go along.

I have a picture of my father and mother taken at a Jerusalem studio owned by an Armenian photographer shortly after they got married. He is sitting in a chair looking solemn, as befits the occasion, and she is standing next to him, with her right hand on his shoulder and a shy smile on her face. He is wearing a nicely cut western style suit, tailored in Jerusalem. Only his shoes are somewhat rough, and not polished, showing perhaps a person who walks long distances in the fields. She is wearing her wedding dress, a beautiful traditional Palestinian *thob* which was the product of many hours of labor by the women in the family and in the village. He does not look like a peasant or even the son of a peasant. His hair is well groomed and his hands are soft. She, on the other hand, definitely looks like the daughter of peasants. He was twenty four years old and she was only eighteen.

My father built a small house on a hill overlooking Ein Kerem. On the other side of the hill was the tiny village of



My mother and father, Jerusalem 1941

Jorah where my mother's relatives lived. This small stone house was typical of village constructions, designed to be expanded as time goes on with one room added here and another added there. Outside, there was a small kitchen and an outhouse. On

the eastern part of the house, a bunch of bougainvillas grew in a haphazard manner. I remember crawling underneath them to look for eggs hatched by our chickens. On the Western side, there was a couple of olive trees and a fig tree. And right next to the kitchen, there was a water well. I had a cat, a dog, and at one point, a sheep. One day, a sheep herder went by with his flock and I chased him and his sheep screaming that I wanted to have one. He gave me a sheep on condition that I would take care of him. I did for quite some time until the sheep disappeared one day.

One of my earliest memories was walking with my cat at dusk to meet my father as he walked back to the house from his work at the resort. I could see him emerge from the building and start his descent toward our house. He would hold my hand and we would walk back together with the cat who would meander in front and sometimes between our feet, meowing in a mildly excited manner. His hands were big and firm and totally enveloped mine. What still lingers on in my mind, even after so many years, is that, on such occasions and for most of these early years, I felt quite happy and secure.

There were, however, moments of anxiety generated by talk about a vague and distant threat coming from the Jews. The only ones I had seen in those days were the distinguished looking ones who frequented my father's place of work and the pediatrician that my parents had taken me to in Jerusalem. They did not appear threatening to me. On the contrary, they were kind and cultured people and my father used to say that some day I will become educated and important like them.

I do remember that one day my uncles joined a crowd of other men from the village and walked in a hurry to a nearby village called Kastal where a big battle was going on between the Arabs and the Jews. Abdul Kader Husseini was leading the Arabs in this battle. We laughed at uncle Mohammed, the black sheep of the family, a simple man with no education at all, who was usually left in charge of the goats. He took an old hunting

musket which had not been fired in many years and joined the Faz'a. A few hours later he came back while the others joined the crowd of fighters to Jerusalem to participate in the funeral of the fallen commander Abdul Kader. Meanwhile, the Jewish forces which had been driven out of Kastal simply walked back in and took it over, thereby controlling once and for all the main road to Jerusalem. Uncle Mohammed gathered the kids around him (because no adults would provide him with an audience) and began to tell us stories of his war experiences.

A man wearing a white robe and carrying a small case usually came by the house to cut the children's hair. On one side of the black case, the word 'barber' was written in white letters; while, on the other side, the word circumciser was inscribed. One day my parents decided that the time had come for me and my younger brother to get circumcised. I clearly remember the ordeal and the shame that followed by having to wear a loose kind of skirt which made us look like girls. It took many years before I could overcome my anxiety about subjecting myself to the instruments of barbers.

I was sent to a Kuttab in the village. This one room schoolhouse was run by a religious man who was supposed to teach us how to read, write and memorize the Koran. He was a rigid and unpleasant sort who frequently brought out his flogging instruments and punished the most minor infractions. One day, during recess, I destroyed a little house that one girl had built. She told the Sheikh and he immediately ordered a flogging. I ran out of the room and stuck my face in the window and hurled a terrible insult at him: "May your religion be cursed." For a long time, I never returned to the school. Instead, I would leave the house early and walk in the direction of the school and play in the fields by myself. When I saw the other kids leave school and head home, I would then return pretending that I had a rough day at school. A few months later, when everyone was marching out of the village on their way to becoming permanent refugees, the Sheikh asked my mother



how come the boy had not been coming to school. It was only then that I had to confess to having been a truant for a few months.

I memorized a small part of the Koran and learned to read and write. The few Suras came in handy on Fridays when my father would take me to the Mosque in Jerusalem. Two things stand out in my childhood memory: one was the awe-inspiring beauty of the Dome of the Rock. My father would explain to me its history and point out its artistic beauty. To me, however, what was most enjoyable was to sit on the clean stone pavement in the coolness of the shade and to eat the kinds of things I usually did not get to eat at home, namely *ka'ak* and *falafel* with a bit of *za'tar* and a hardboiled egg.

The second thing that always struck me was the incredible crowd who filled the narrow streets and alleys of the Old City as the faithful departed following their prayers. As a little boy, I felt claustrophobic as I was pushed and shoved by people and carts. I remember being envious of the children who roamed the streets and alleyways of the city, joking, teasing and running skillfully through the crowd. To me, they seemed free and clever. I always imagined myself joining their frolicks in total abandon, watching the tourists go by, knowing every nook and cranny of the city.

The city always seemed mysterious to me, enveloped in layers, with doors that led into courtyards, to other doors, and stairs going to upper floors at different angles. What do these people do behind these doors, in these courtyards, and in those dark alleys? The women who hid behind dark veils and walked in groups, always clad in black added to the mystery. I never saw any women like that. I would follow them, and as they invariably walked in the fabric shops, I would sneak a look at their faces as they lifted their veils to look more closely at the fabric they were thinking of buying. Some of them would glance quickly in my direction and then turn away, reassured that this invader is nothing but a short and insignificant tot.

Nearly always, I felt a kind of disappointment at the ordinariness of their looks.

Invariably, my father would buy some things for the house depending upon what was in season: possibly some oranges and bananas and always some sweets like baklava. He would also buy me some trinket and we would then head to the packed bus that would take us back to Ein Kerem.

In April 1948, following the massacre at Deir Yassin, the feelings of fear and anxiety which used to be vague and distant began to appear more imminent and more real. I could still hear my grandmother and my mother hurling curses mostly on the British and often on the Jews. My mother packed some clothes in a long sack that she had sewn and left it in the corner of the house. At night, some of the men would go to the edge of the village and do guard duty.

One night, everyone was awakened to the sound of one of these men who went through the village frantically screaming : "Go. The Jews are coming." I can still recall the voice and the ensuing chaos. Within a short period of time, the entire village was marching out, carrying bare essentials, some bedding on a mule, some clothing, and some food. We spent the night in the fields a few kilometers out. Overhead we could see streaming lights and we could hear whizzing bullets and explosions. From a distance, we could see other villages pack up and leave in the same chaotic and hurried manner. The next day, we resumed our trek in the direction of a village called Ras Abu Ammar. On the way, we could see some dead bodies and some scattered limbs where explosions had occurred and tore up human bodies that were left lying there. We spent a month in this village and then, when the Jews came again we resumed our walk in the direction of Bethlehem. Our stay in Ras Abu Ammar was uneventful except for one incident. One of my uncles, the oldest, who worked for many years at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, had married his cousin and they had a girl. Before we left, they were having

marital difficulties and disagreements. In Ras Abu Ammar, one night she left the house where we stayed and sought refuge with her parents who lived nearby. That same night, one of her brothers shot our mule. Tempers flared and the men on my side of the family had to be restrained from going next door and killing him. For years, I could not understand why people behaved in this manner given the dire circumstances they were going through.

Our exile from our homes was supposed to be for a short duration. People thought that they would be going back to their homes and land in a matter of weeks. Surely the Arab armies would enter Palestine and stop the Jews. The frame of reference, for most people, were the Arab conquests in the early Islamic period when armies swept through many lands and defeated enemies with superior force, or the battles waged by Salah Eddin against the foreign invaders. Arab soldiers were supposed to be men of courage and valor and the Jews were supposed to be cowards.

Shortly afterwards, however, as our exile began to get longer and longer, new stories began to emerge. They all focused on great conspiracies being hatched against the Palestinians. The Jordanian Arab Legion, we were told, did not fight at all. King Abdullah and his British commander Glubb Pasha handed Palestine over to the Jews. The Egyptian Army fought with empty bullets. Only the Iraqis and some volunteers from various Arab countries did any worthwhile fighting. But the Arab armies were no match against the superior firepower of the Jews and their generous British supporters. The British had for years clamped an iron fist over the Palestinians, severely punishing anyone who was caught with a gun or a bullet. My grandmother used to relate the story of how the British came to look for guns one day. One of my uncles had an old pistol. As they appeared on the scene, she was sitting on the floor kneading bread in the large wooden bowl that she inherited from her mother. She hid the gun in the mound of

dough. They searched the house and left emptyhanded. Later, she proudly related another story about how she gave one of my uncles a gold piece and told him to go to Jerusalem and buy a decent gun. He was unable to find one. The British, we were told, disarmed the Arabs and gave the Jews whatever weapons they wanted.

Years later, upon reading the work of Israel's revisionist historians ( Tom Segev, Benny Morris, Simha Flapan and Avi Shlaim) one discovers that this Palestinian narrative, culled from here and there by simple villagers, with some minor adjustments was in fact quite close to the truth.

I cannot easily describe the feelings of hurt, and bitterness among the people I knew who weathered the first harsh winter in the Dheisha refugee camp outside of Bethlehem. But they made it, somehow, with the minimum necessities of life provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees. Tents and blankets were provided along with some basic foodstuffs. What sticks in my my mind from those days is a bitter feeling of a cold chill that never went away and the mud that surrounded us after the rain. Something else stays in my mind: some of the natives of Bethlehem looked upon these refugees as a nuisance and as a new pest. Why did you leave your homes? You must have done something to deserve your fate? Look, this man is abject looking, like a refugee who lost his UNRWA card.

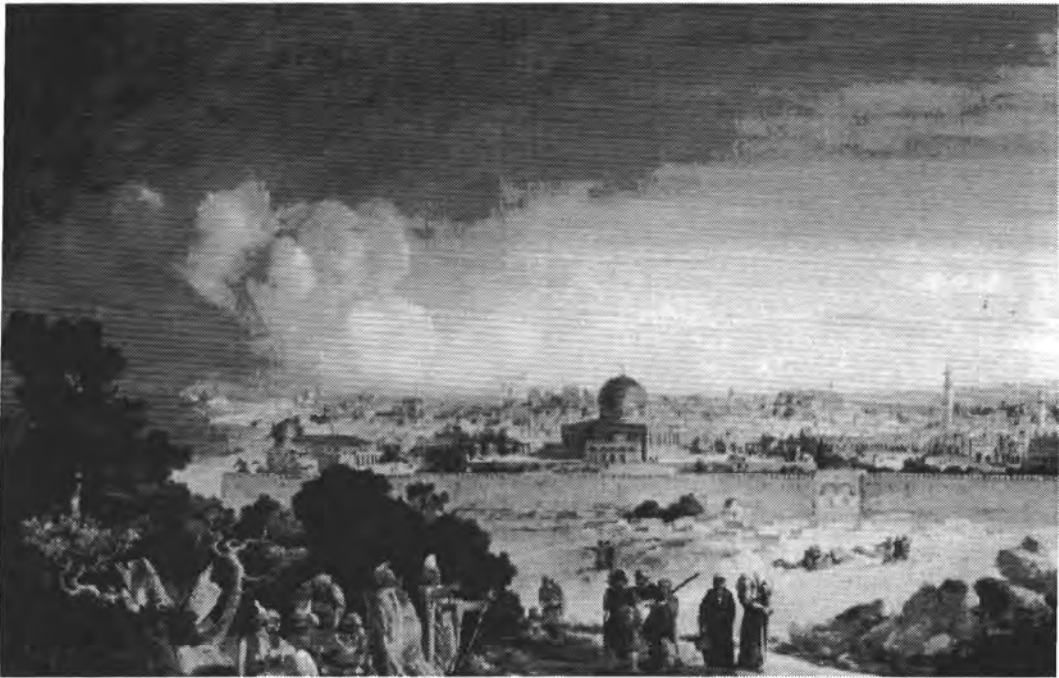
My father decided it was time to send me to school. He asked around and was told that the best school was one run by the Frères, French Christian brothers, where kids learn English, Arabic and French . He took me there one day and we saw the director, a brother who wore a black robe with a white collar around his neck. He spoke broken Arabic and was obviously a foreigner. When my father heard what it would cost to send me to school he promptly said: "Come, boy, let us go." My father could ill afford the expensive tuition fees. He had just lost his house and his land and had no job. Whatever little money he

had saved was frozen in Barclays Bank in Jerusalem near Bab El-Khalil. It was years later before my father was able to retrieve his small savings. The director then asked him how he got his name and my father told him that his own father was an Algerian who had migrated to Palestine. The director then asked my father if he had kept his father's identity card. The next day, we went back to the school and showed my grandfather's ID card which was written in a foreign language. The director then said that my father was in luck because this meant that we were descendants of a French citizen (because Algeria was part of France) and as such we were considered French citizens overseas. This, according to the director, entitled us to a free education because the French Government would have to pay our fees. And this they did for all the years that I and my two younger brothers attended that school.

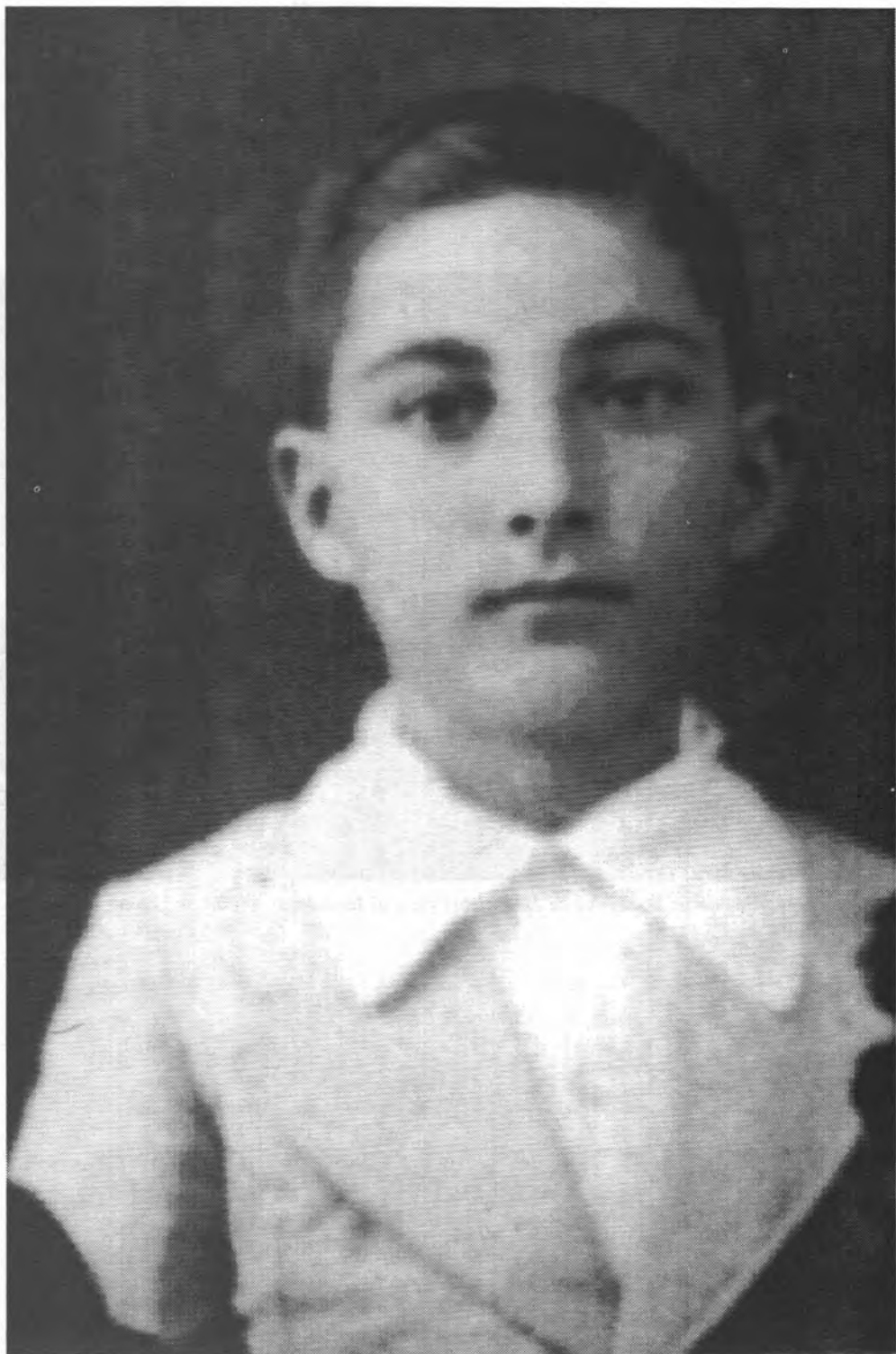
In those days, going to Jerusalem was a major undertaking. One had to take a bus from Bethlehem which would wind its way up and down steep inclines. Very often I would throw up and feel embarrassed until I saw that other people were going through the same thing. The City had become truncated. A fence and a wall separated the Jewish part from the Arab part. Whenever I went there I would walk along the wall and see cars and buses on the other side. I often wondered what kind of people rode these buses and these cars. I hated them from a distance although I really never saw any of them face to face. All I knew is that they came and threw us out of our homes, took over our land and made our life miserable. Some day, I thought, we will drive them out of there and go back to our homes and fields.

***Fouad Moughrabi***

*Department of Political Science  
University of Tennessee /Chattanooga*



Louis-François Cassas, *Vue de Jerusalem* (View of Jerusalem), 1800, watercolor.



Issa J. Boullata 7 years old

## **JERUSALEM: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF MEMORY**

In August of 1975, I was driving my car northward in upstate New York with my wife and four children. We were heading for Canada, where we had been accepted as landed immigrants and where I was soon to assume my position as professor of Arabic literature and language at McGill University in Montreal, Quebec.

At the Canadian border, the immigration officer examined my papers signed by the visa officer of the Canadian consulate in New York City. He noticed that the papers said I was born in Jerusalem, U.S.A. and gave the country code number 461 . He asked, "Where were you born?" I said, "In Jerusalem, Palestine. " Realizing there was an error, he crossed out U.S.A. and said he was going to write Israel instead. I said, "No. I was born in Jerusalem, Palestine, as I wrote in my application for the Canadian landed immigrant visa, submitted to the consulate in New York City. There was no Israel when I was born in 1929 ." And I proceeded to show him my birth certificate issued by the Government of Palestine, written in English, Arabic, and Hebrew—the three official languages of the British Mandate of Palestine. He looked at the tattered certificate in sympathy, consulted his list of coded countries, then said, "But there is no Palestine on my list and I have no code number for it . " Then he added, "There is Jordan, the



Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Didn't Jordan rule part of Jerusalem until the June war of 1967, when it lost it to Israel?" I said, "Yes. But when I was born, Jerusalem was not ruled by Jordan. In fact, that country was not even a kingdom, nor was it called Jordan: it was called Transjordan. To be correct, my immigration papers should say I was born in Jerusalem, Palestine."

In the meantime, I was thinking how strange our conversation was on that sultry August afternoon in the Canadian immigration officer's stuffy little room, with my wife and children looking on silently, while Middle East politics and history impinged on a bureaucrat's simple transaction at a border point thousands of miles away from Jerusalem. My family and I had real, existential anxieties about our future life in Canada. We were eagerly looking forward to a new beginning after we had left our home in Jerusalem in 1968, where my children had been born. We were full of expectations but now the problem of Jerusalem had to be resolved before we could cross the border into Canada.

Apparently, the Canadian immigration officer, finally realized that the problem was beyond him and that my papers were in order after all. His eyes shone as he signed them, then stamped: 20 August, 1975. He gave me my pink copy and I drove on with my family to Montreal, where I have been living ever since.

I still have cousins and other relatives and friends in Jerusalem and in other parts of my homeland, where I was born. Others are in Jordan and in different parts of the world as a result of Palestinian dislocation and eradication following the establishment of Israel in 1948. We correspond with one another and try to remain in touch despite the demands of life impeding our efforts, and sometimes succeeding. We miss one another and yearn for the good old days, which we try to remember. However, life moves on and change happens, yet we cling to our memories to retain our unity and identity, and

indeed to keep our sanity.

Memory works in very strange ways. Several years ago, I was visiting my friend, the Palestinian poet, critic, and literary scholar, Dr. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. As I was walking with her on an unpaved sidewalk near her home on Homer Avenue, my eyes fell on a tuft of green grass struggling to grow in the summer: dust amid weeds and it instantly evoked in my memory a similar tuft in Jerusalem growing on an unpaved sidewalk next to Schmidt's Girls School near the Damascus Gate, and I felt as though I were in my hometown. I was struck with amazement when Dr. Jayyusi remarked, "Look, Issa. Doesn't this tuft of grass remind you of Jerusalem?" A graduate of Schmidt's, she must have nonchalantly passed by a similar tuft of grass every school day in Jerusalem, but now she suddenly remembered. I knew then that, among Palestinians, I was not unique in remembering the smallest things of my homeland.

I feel I am deeply rooted in Jerusalem. I don't mean by this to refer to my roots in the ancient Land of Canaan and especially in the Canaanite tribe of the Jebusites, who were the original Semitic inhabitants of Uru-Salem, also known as Jebus, and now as al-Quds, although my family name is a constant reminder of that, following the opinion offered me in the middle 1940s by the Dominican linguist, Father Augustin Marmarji (1881-1963) of the Ecole Biblique et Archeologique in Jerusalem and later independently confirmed in the early 1970s by Dr. Harvin M. Pope, professor of Semitic languages and literatures at Yale University. No, I am not referring to this rootedness in ancient history, important and real as it is, for the Canaanites inhabited my country since about 3000 B.C. before the Hebrews invaded them in about 1000 B.C. The Canaanites later became the majority of present-day Christian and Muslim Arabs of Palestine. I am rather referring to the fact that I am personally rooted in Jerusalem because of my own life experiences and my own memories, and because of my family

lore that has been part of my culture since childhood.

My grandfather, Issa Hanna Boullata, had died in 1927 before I was born but his memory lived in his wife, my grandmother Irene! and her children: my paternal uncles and aunts and, of course, my father. Of the many stories about my grandfather that they told and others confirmed was that he was a master mason who, in the late nineteenth century, built monumental edifices still standing in the old city of Jerusalem, notably the colossal school of Mar Mitri next to the Greek Orthodox convent and the shopping complex of Dabbaghah next to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The latter is a center



Jerusalem, ca. 1935. Three Atalla generations: Ibrahim sitting in the center, flanked by his son Ya'qub and his grandson Ibrahim, Jr., all wearing the usual fez of Palestinian city males. In solidarity with the Palestinian rebellion of 1936-1939, city males dropped the fez as a headdress and adopted the *kufiyyah* and the *'ikal* (the head kerchief and black rope of the rebels) to confuse British authorities about rebels roaming the cities before returning to their countryside redoubts and mountain strongholds.

consisting of 152 shops intersected by cobbled, public roads and has several gateways, the most ornate of which is the triple archway nearest to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In the middle of the complex is a circular waterworks construction with marble basins in several tiers which, at one time, used to be a beautiful and refreshing sight when the fountain operated. I never saw it operating but, as a child, I liked to go around it to look with intent pleasure at the low, glass stalls under awnings that surrounded it. These were the stalls of the Bukhara mystics of the Naqshabandi Order in Jerusalem who sold trinkets of all kinds for a living, and often sharpened knives, scissors, and axes on their spark-producing grindstones that always fascinated children. As a little boy, I used to buy marbles and spinning tops from them; and as an adolescent, razor blades, penknives, and other inexpensive needs. Above the shops, on the west side of the complex was St. John's Hospice which used to house Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land in earlier times. After 1948, rooms in it were rented to Palestinian refugees at a low rent charged by the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. After 1967, as Jewish settler groups established and expanded their settlements in the west Bank and the Gaza Strip, they turned their attention in the early 1980s to the old city of Jerusalem. In April of 1990, the Ateret Cohanim settler group occupied St. John's Hospice, claiming the property was sold to them by an Armenian tenant via a Panamanian company. As the Jerusalem Post reported on April 17, 1990. A physical confrontation resulted when the Orthodox Patriarch and his supporters tried in vain to evict the settlers and retake control of the hospice, and the matter is now in the hands of the Israeli courts. Not only is the formerly playful fountain of my grandfather silent today, but the stalls of the Bukhara mystics are gone, and St. John's Hospice is forcibly occupied.

My maternal grandfather, Ibrahim Atallah, died in 1948 and was the last person to be buried in the Orthodox cemetery which, after the Arab-Israeli military hostilities of 1948, fell in



Jerusalem, 1939. Yusef Boullata and his wife Barbara with their children (standing, left--from back to front) Issa, René, (standing, right--from back to front) André, Sou'ad, and (sitting, left) Jamil. Their youngest son Kamal was later born in 1942.

the Israeli controlled section of the new city of Jerusalem. His grave was therefore not accessible to his progeny living in the old city, in the West Bank, and in Jordan. I knew my maternal grandfather well and learned many things from him, although I did not know his wife, my grandmother Latifeh, who had died in the First World War, long before I was born. Her memory and his, however, lived in their children; my maternal uncles and aunts and, of course, my mother.

Why my grandfather was named Ibrahim is part of the family lore that has been transmitted to his progeny and is still alive. It is reported that his mother could not conceive and was advised to make a trip to al-Khalil (Hebron) and go around the oak tree of Ibrahim (Abraham) there seven times and say certain prayers. So off she went on a donkey to al-Khalil with her husband and performed the circumambulation saying the prayers. And lo and behold, she became pregnant a short time later and gave birth to a baby boy she named Ibrahim, in honor of Ibrahim al-Khalil, and he was to be the only child she bore. As an adult, he continued to have friends in al-Khalil whom he and his descendants cherished and visited, the town and its people still retaining a special place in their hearts.

My maternal grandfather was a reputed goldsmith and had a workshop in the old city of Jerusalem. Having an adventurous attitude, he was one of the first Jerusalemites around the turn of the century to buy a lot of land outside the city walls in the region later to be called Upper Baq'a in the southwest of Jerusalem. He built himself a hut there in a virtually empty space, with hardly any neighbors and later developed it into a simple stone house with a red-tile roof. He rode his donkey to and from his workshop in the city daily, a trip of about one hour. He would later see the area he invested in become a flourishing middle-class residential neighborhood with beautifully designed, modern stone houses and gardens in the 1920s and 1930s, served by regular bus lines. Other similar residential, Arab neighborhoods were simultaneously growing

in Jerusalem outside the city walls in other directions, such as Lower Baq`a, Qatamon, Talibiyya, and Thawri in the south and southwest; Sa`d-wa-Sa`id, Bab al-Sahira, Wadi al-Jawz, and Shaykh Jarrah in the north; in addition to commercial and residential areas in Sharḥma`a, Mamillah, Musrara, and Jaffa Road in the west and northwest.

In the middle 1930s, my grandfather decided on the advice of his now grown children to expand and modernize his home. He was then retired but kept all his dear, goldsmith's tools and equipment at home in a shack and sometimes used them to make or repair jewelry items for family members—free of charge, of course. I was a little boy when the foundations of my grandfather's new home were dug, down to bedrock. As the foundation concrete was being poured, my grandfather went to his shack and returned with his best steel anvil. With tears in his eyes, he threw it into the foundation as treasured token contribution for good luck and for basic strength, while having his future generations in mind. After the roof was finished amid the chorus of workers' songs, a symbolic green tree branch topped the graceful new building, now enclosing his old home; all the workers, family members and their friends were invited to a celebratory lunch of *labandyyah* (rice cooked with buttermilk and chunks of meat). My grandfather's home was now big enough for his two sons and their families and his two daughters to live in, in addition to apartments he rented.

In the spring of 1948, however, my grandfather and his family became refugees in Bethlehem living in crowded, rented quarters, having hurriedly abandoned their home and fled in fear the scene of fighting in Jerusalem that would lead to the establishment of Israel at the end of the British Mandate in May of 1948. As he got off the car in Bethlehem, he ominously said, "The dust of my grave is calling me." He died broken-hearted several weeks later, and was taken to be buried in the Orthodox cemetery in Jerusalem. His home, almost visible on a clear day from Bethlehem, was occupied by new Jewish immigrants and

his future generation were deprived of it, anvil and all.

There are those who say future generations of Palestinians will be compensated in a final settlement for all the absentee property Israel has laid hands on. That is yet to be seen and does not seem to be likely. A cousin of mine who is a goldsmith and jeweler, whose shop is on Saladin Street in Jerusalem, owns a three-story stone building on Jaffa Road near Cinema Zion. Living in the West bank city of Ramallah after returning from Egypt, where he had gone as a refugee with his family in 1948, he had no access to his building on Jaffa Road nor to the rental income from the shops on the ground floor and the apartments above them. In 1968, after Jerusalem had been "unified" following the June war of 1967 and was fully under Israel's control, he was persuaded by a former Jewish friend from British Mandate times to enquire about his Jaffa Road building at the office of the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property. He reported to me that he was told there that the rental income from his building, calculated against the Israeli taxes he owed, as well as the Israeli expenses of upkeep and

Jerusalem, inside the  
Old City near Jaffa Gate. The  
rented house where Yusuf  
and Barbara Boullata lived  
and brought up Issa J.  
Boullata and his siblings  
from 1939 to 1962.  
Owned by the Coptic church,  
the house is today a convent  
for Coptic nuns.





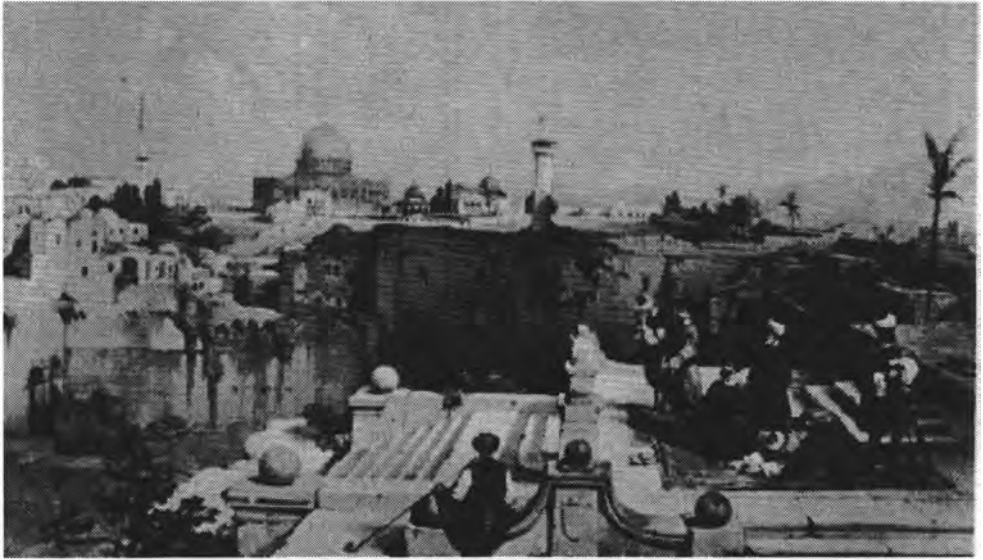
management for the intervening twenty years, made him a debtor and he was asked whether he wanted to settle his debt or leave it to be amortized by contributions from the 1948 value of the building as a sinking fund. He said he wanted none of that and would wait for a final political settlement between the Palestinian and Israeli authorities.

There are many similar cases in Jerusalem and all over Palestine, aside from cases of property which was openly confiscated by Israel for ostensible military or public purposes. A glaring example of the latter in the old city of Jerusalem is the case of the Maghariba quarter beside the Western Wall, holy to Muslims as the Buraq Wall, west of al-Haram al-Sharif. On June 11, 1967, only days after the Israeli occupation of the old city, the inhabitants of this quarter, which consisted of time-honored Islamic pious foundations (waqf) established by Maghribis, were ordered to evacuate their homes at short notice. The Israeli army demolished their houses by explosives, and bulldozers cleared away the rubble and created a large plaza for Jewish worship at the foot of the historic Western Wall. About 650 people became instantly homeless as their 135 homes were detonated and their two mosques, al-Buraq and al-Afdali, were destroyed. Speak of human rights, if you would, of international conventions on war and military occupation, of a succession of United Nations resolutions condemning such acts and calling upon Israel to cease and desist! Speak, for that is all you can do!

O Jerusalem, my dear holy city of al-Quds: When will you see justice, when will you have peace? And when will your people live together in brotherhood?

**Issa J. Boullata**  
*McGill University  
Institute of Islamic Studies*

February 11, 1997



*Jerusalem* by the nineteenth-century water-colorist, David Roberts, Bodleian Library.



Entrance to the Tomb of Christ.

"According to Jewish religious law [halacha] non-Jews are not allowed to reside in Jerusalem, although they may visit it. In addition, no places of worship of any non-Jewish religion should be tolerated in Jerusalem" —Israel Shahak, see page 14 of this issue of *Jusoor*

## **FOR A SHARED JERUSALEM**

The idea that Jerusalem constitutes the exclusive property of one party, which has privileged rights there, is an old one. In ancient times, and many, many other times during its more than 40 centuries of history, Jerusalem has been conquered, and then treated as if it belonged to the conqueror alone. Each time, of course, the arguments used to justify such behavior went far beyond the simple conqueror's claim that might-makes-right. Most frequently, religious justifications were utilized to give a patina of legitimacy to such appropriations, and to the attendant disposessions which went with them.

Quite often, such forcible takeovers were accompanied by wholesale slaughter, while at other times, the indigenous population was expelled or subjugated by that of the conqueror.

While somewhat barbaric, at least this old-fashioned approach had the merit of simplicity. The spirit in which old-time conquerors approached this matter was generally refreshingly straight-forward: "Jerusalem used to belong to them, we took it because of divine favor, and now it is ours to do with exactly as we please." The religious arguments in which this argument from brute force was usually clothed in fact generally mattered far less than the brute force involved, which was the nub of the matter. Thus, while there was a fair share of hypocrisy and cant in the old approach, it generally

relied in essence on the sword, sometimes quite unashamedly.

I mention this ancient history not because I plan to focus on tales of Jebusites and Israelites, but rather because we are constantly told that there are special, privileged and exclusive Israeli claims to Jerusalem today because of the ancient attachment to it of the Jewish religious tradition. This is an argument which carries enormous force, since followers of all three of the monotheistic faiths which grew out of the Abrahamic heritage revere this tradition, both in general and as it applies to Jerusalem.

But in fact, the ancient, enduring and indisputable attachment to Jerusalem of the Jewish religious tradition is today exploited to cloak what is at base no more than the old, brutal legitimization-by-conquest approach. We must remember that what is being argued by those who do this is NOT that this ancient and enduring religious attachment justifies a modern religious attachment, or freedom of worship for Jews in Jerusalem today. What is being claimed is that this attachment takes precedence over all others, and that it is more ancient, more sacred, and more important than whatever others may feel for the Holy City. This in turn is used to justify exclusive Israeli sovereignty and control over the entire city today, both its Jewish and Arab sectors, and including its Jewish, Christian and Muslim holy places.

What is at work here is particularly insidious because it is so subtle. Since no believing Christian or Muslim could possibly deny the Jewish affiliation to Jerusalem without denying a central tenet of his or her faith, this indisputable Jewish religious connection is employed to serve two purposes. The first is to make plausible a seamless continuity between the enduring centuries-old spiritual yearning for Jerusalem among Jews the world over, and the secular political purposes and rapacious nationalist ambitions in today's Jerusalem of the modern nation-state of Israel. The second is to delegitimize the political claims of others by projecting a relatively recent

political connection with Jerusalem three thousand years back in time.

Thus, it is argued, while Christians or Muslims can claim two thousand or one thousand four hundred years of continuous attachment to Jerusalem respectively (and indeed the continuous nature and the intensity of these attachments are sometimes called into doubt), Jews can claim three thousand. Then -- and note the sophisticated bait and switch technique which operates here -- it is first claimed that this ancient Jewish religious attachment is in fact nothing other than an early variant of modern-day nationalism; it is then assumed that David and Solomon were nothing other than very early prime ministers of a very early state of Israel; it is thereupon assumed that the sources whereby we know what we know of Jerusalem in the time of David and Solomon are genuine historical sources rather than accounts of religious traditions, myths and beliefs compiled over 500 years after their time; all of this is then tarted up with the results of generations of biblical and nationalistically driven archaeology which has taken these historically questionable biblical texts as its underground road-map; next, a couple of thousand years of intervening history are conveniently forgotten; and, voila, we have the modern myth whereby the only legitimate claim to Jerusalem is that of the modern Israeli nation-state.

All of this serves to obscure a very important fact: this is that the ancient Jewish connection with Jerusalem has profound meaning for both Christians and Muslims. For Christians and Muslims, this connection has been fully incorporated into their central religious narratives in such a way that to argue, as some do, for the exclusivity of these attachments is in fact to misunderstand the beliefs of others. Thus in the Christian Bible, the Old Testament is an integral part of the Scriptural under girding of faith -- and it is thus not just the Passion of Jesus which causes Christians to venerate Jerusalem, but also the traditions and beliefs which Christians

share with Jews about the city.

Similarly, Muslims believe in the Jewish connection with Jerusalem as an integral part of God's messages to mankind; they see the biblical prophets, without exception, as among their prophets and venerate them all, notably David and Solomon, and it is not simply the night journey of the Prophet Muhammad to Jerusalem described in Sura 17 of the Quran which causes them to venerate the city. What is at issue therefore is not the Jewish claim to Jerusalem: that claim is in fact endorsed and upheld by all believers in the Abrahamic tradition; it is rather the exclusivity of that claim, and its present utilization for political purposes.

All of this leads directly to the crucial matter at issue, which is that just as modern Israeli nationalism has been constructed in part through a reweaving in nationalist political terms of Biblical and other narratives, so has modern Palestinian nationalism been constructed in part on the basis of these same Biblical, and related Quranic, narratives. What is at issue is not refutation or advocacy of any of these nationalist claims. Nationalism after all is a matter of belief, and sometimes quite irrational belief. As the historian Eric Hobsbawm puts it, "No serious historian of nations and nationalism can be a committed political nationalist... nationalism requires too much belief in what is patently untrue."

Rather, what we should be trying to do, if we are serious about looking for a solution for Jerusalem, is to avoid denigrating the claims of others. We must recognize that these claims, both the national claims, and the religious ones on which they are in part based, exist, and have a power which cannot be denied. Put more bluntly, we can not tell others what they believe, or what they should believe. We must recognize further that these claims must be reconciled in some fashion if there is ever to be a resolution of the conflict which has Jerusalem as its core.

This conflict simply cannot be resolved on a basis of might makes-right, nor can it be done by attempting to privilege one of two national claims, or one religious tradition among three, or one archeological stratum in a city which has at least 21 known major strata. It simply will not do to pretend that Jerusalem has three thousand years of history—back to the time of King David in other words— when in fact the archaeologists agree that it has been in existence for well over four thousand years. Similarly, it will not do to ignore, and indeed to actually undermine, the Arab-Muslim structures which make up the physical fabric of the Old City of Jerusalem in an obsessive search for the remains of structures from 2000 or 3000 years ago.

If the conflict is to be resolved, those who search for a real solution in Jerusalem will have to find a formula for sharing this holy city in ways which give real empowerment and the full exercise of political rights to all of those who live there or look to Jerusalem as their capital, without infringing on the rights of others. This formula at the same time will have to give all believers in the faiths of the Abrahamic tradition a sense that they are free to worship without coercion, and are not doing so on sufferance.

This is a tall order, and it will not be easy to do, but it is not impossible. It can be done without redividing Jerusalem. But those who do it must take also into account the cold hard fact that all the windy rhetoric about "reunification" notwithstanding, this city includes two national communities which have been in conflict with one another for over five generations now, and that one has subjugated the other. For this reason they are rigidly segregated from one another in virtually every significant aspect of their existence, and are likely to continue in this fashion for at least some time into the future.

What is crucial, however, is that the veil of cant and deceit which envelops discussion of this question, especially in the United States and Israel, be lifted: the fact is that asserting



the primacy of one religious tradition in effect demeans the others; the fact is that asserting the absolute primacy of one nationality in practice means the subjugation of the other. This is not to say that believing Jews or Christians or Muslims should not regard their affiliation with Jerusalem as special, unique and distinct; each group will naturally and necessarily do so. It is rather the assertion that their affiliation gives them the right to primacy in the here and now which is dangerous. Similarly, no one could expect either Palestinians or Israelis to cease to regard Jerusalem as the supreme focus of their national aspirations. They will continue to do so whatever we do. Rather, these aspirations have to be realized in such a way that their realization does not prevent the realization of the legitimate aspirations of others.

Like religion, nationalism can be an uncompromising and elemental force which is singularly unamenable to such reasoned arguments. It is the task of those who seek a mutually acceptable resolution of the conflict over Jerusalem to resist these uncompromising and elemental tendencies in religion and nationalism, and to challenge the exclusivist political claims which they engender. What this means on one side is to resist a new exclusivism regarding Jerusalem which is associated with some voices in the Islamic, Arab and Palestinian communities.

Important though these voices are, they probably represent a minority, whether in Palestine or in the Arab-American community, where a majority seems committed to some form of sharing in Jerusalem.

What this means on the other side is far more difficult. For it involves a willingness to stand up to an apparent consensus calling for exclusive Israeli control over Jerusalem. This consensus is not in fact as monolithic as it may seem, but it is intimidating and even terrifying to some who would defy it, whether in the U. S. Congress, or in the Christian and Jewish communities in North America and Europe. Indeed the only reason that the partisans of this exclusivist approach to

Jerusalem can claim that they represent a consensus is that this issue has not yet been openly debated. If the issues involved in a resolution of the dispute over Jerusalem were dispassionately laid before most people, Muslims, Christians or Jews, it might be easier than many expect to arrive at a consensus for a shared rather than an exclusivist solution. It is imperative that we arrive at such a consensus, for an exclusivist solution--whatever the religious or other justifications in which it might be dressed up--is at bottom based on the bayonet and the barbaric argument that might-makes-right, and cannot possibly lead to peace or justice.

I will not dwell on how important a just resolution of the issue of Jerusalem is to the achievement of an overall Middle East peace settlement.....

Of course, there is the possibility that I am being wildly naive in saying all of this. Perhaps we have not progressed since the days of the Jebusites. Perhaps mankind has not reached a stage where the idea of sharing can prevail.

I prefer to take a somewhat more optimistic view, and to believe that we have progressed past the era of the caveman, and of our warlike ancestors and others who have fought over Jerusalem for centuries, in doing so sometimes wading in the blood of their opponents, and sometimes operating less dramatically with legal writs and bulldozers.

If I am right, and if a compromise solution is possible, it will be one which, while it respects the three different religious traditions which give Jerusalem its sanctity, and the two national claims which today envelop it, will privilege none of them, but will rather enable all to share jointly in the wonders of this magnificent, beautiful, great, holy and cursed city, Jerusalem.

***Rashid Khalidi***

*Director of the Center for International Studies,  
Professor of History at the University of Chicago,  
President of the American Committee on Jerusalem .*



The Israeli storming of the Old City, 1967.

## ‘Next Year in Jerusalem’ HISTORY OF A CONQUEST

The Zionist conquest cannot be completely understood unless we start with the plan conceived by Theodor Herzl, who declared in 1896, and not without reason: "At Basel, I have founded the Jewish State."

To understand the internal logic of political Zionism, we must demonstrate its genesis in Herzl's work. This survey thus entails a certain number of repetitive references to Herzl's... Here, we exclusively cite the four-volume *Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, presented by Raphael Pataï in 1970 to Herzl Press of New York.

The Zionist conquest of Palestine has invoked religious pretexts; specially that of the "Promised Land," as if Palestine were a gift from God to the Jewish people. "Next year in Jerusalem" has become not only what it meant to religious Jews and to many Christians the Messianic hope for the advent of the city of God incarnated in a "celestial Jerusalem," but also the conquest of land at the expense of those who had lived there for thousands of years.

This venture of mystification calls to mind the undertaking of the Crusades, when Christian belief—deeply rooted in the European

---

**Roger Garaudy**, perhaps the most influential humanistic philosopher of our time, was born in 1913. Three months after being decorated with a war medal as a soldier against Hitler, he was arrested on September 14, 1944. When he rose against Nazism prior to the existence of deportations in Germany, he was sent to the Sahara and was subjected to 33 months in a concentration camp. Garaudy published more than fifty books on pure philosophy, dialogue of civilizations, as well as the mythical foundations of racism, colonialism and human injustice. "History of a Conquest" is a collection of excerpts from the first English translation of Garaudy's book "*Palestine, terre des messages divine*," Paris 1986, translated by Dr. Mahmoud Abulsaud.

peoples, who were ready to make any sacrifice, was cynically exploited by political and religious leaders who used slogans that could arouse the enthusiasm of Christians to serve their largely sordid interests. The Crusades served the interests of the Papacy, which desired to reimpose its hegemony over the feudal princes of the Christian West and to put an end to the schism within the Oriental Church. They also served the interests of feudal nobility avid to carve out kingdoms in the "Holy Land," and they served the interests of the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and elsewhere, who, by providing transport and equipment for these expeditions, had the opportunity of gaining fabulous wealth. These underlying motives were first introduced as an extension of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land and as a "defensive" war against the "infidels" from whom the "Holy Sepulcher" should be wrested. This helped to justify a bloody conquest, the usurpation of the land and fouling on an enormous scale, (of which the sacking of Constantinople remains the grimmest example).

The Zionist conquest bears the same characteristics as the Crusades: swaying religious beliefs to benefit political enterprise, military aggression, and territorial conquest by methods of warfare and colonialism peculiar to the twentieth century.

The mechanism and the gimmicks of this swaying have already been fully clarified in the book written by the founder of political Zionism, Theodor Herzl, without which one cannot understand the development of the Zionist enterprise and the inner logic of its aggression and expansion in Herzl's *Diaries*. He recorded, from 1895 to 1904, his intentions, his projects, and his prospective steps, revealing the profound meaning of political Zionism.

In compiling as objectively as possible a file about the historical background that explains Zionist aggression, we must first classify the five major themes that emanate from the *Diaries*—the herald of the future of the Zionist enterprise.

1. The conquest of Palestine is not a question of belief, but is a question of harnessing the mobilizing force of a "mighty legend" for this purpose.

On November 23, 1895, Herzl wrote:

Of course I had told the Chief Rabbi, as I told Zadok Khan and Güdemann, that I was not thereby responding to a religious impulse. But assuredly I would pay no less respect to the faith of my fathers than to other faiths. (Vol. 1. p. 278)

On November 26, 1895, he added: (Asher Myer... of the London *Jewish Chronicle*)

Asher Myer asked me: "What is your relation to the Bible?" I said: "I am a freethinker, and our principle will be that everyone shall seek salvation in his own way." (Vol. 1. p. 283)

Asher Myer replied, "The orthodox Jews will join with you even while they hold you to be a bad Jew."

The object, Palestine, has no religious significance to him. It merely allowed him to exploit a myth:

In Palestine's disfavor is its proximity to Russia and Europe, its lack of room for expansion as well as its climate, which we are no longer accustomed to.

In his favor: The Mighty Legend: (June 9, 1895, Vol. 1. p. 56) Palestine had such little religious significance that he wrote:

I shall now tell you everything about the "Promised land" except its location. That is a purely scientific question. We must have regard for geological, climate, in short, natural factors of all kinds with full circumspection and with consideration of the latest research. (June 1, 1895, V. 1. p. 133)

The Holy Land would be anywhere, or rather wherever the criteria that have nothing to do with the Jewish creed would be applied. On June 13, 1895, he wrote:

As soon as the *Society of Jews* has constituted itself, we shall call a conference of number of Jewish geographers to determine, with the help of these scholars, who as Jews are loyally devoted to us, where we are going to emigrate... In principle, I am neither against Palestine nor for Argentina. We merely have to have a varied climate for the Jews who are

used to colder or to warmer regions. On account of our future world trade we have to be located on the sea, and for our large-scale mechanized agriculture we must have wide areas at our disposal. The scientists will be given a chance to provide us with information. The decision will be made by our Administrative Council.

On June 16, 1895, he wrote:

No one has ever thought of looking for the Promised Land in the place where it really is—and yet it lies so near. It is here: within ourselves! I am not misleading anyone. Everyone can satisfy himself that I am telling the truth. For everyone will carry over there, in himself, a piece of the Promised Land. This one, in his head, that one, in his hands, the third, in his sayings. The Promised Land is where we carry it! (Vol. I. p.105)

Herzl ridiculed even prophetic considerations and the mystic doctrines (which were entirely foreign to him) about Palestine. What interested him were the myths (Jewish or Christian) that could justify Jewish implantation into Palestine and the extension of the "Jewish State." Herzl tells us that Reverend Hechler, while traveling with an Anglican shepherd on April 16, 1896:

He unfolded his maps of Palestine and instructed me for hours on end. The northern frontier ought to be the mountains facing Cappadocia; the southern, the Suez Canal. The slogan to be circulated: The Palestine of David and Solomon ! (April 26, 1896, Vol . I . p. 342)

Delighted with this concept, he did not take at all seriously the prophetic characteristics. On April 24, 1896 (Vol. 1. p. 336) he adopted the plan of Reverend Hechler to delimit the land of Great Israel:

Then presented the entire plan, which he [the Grand Duke of Bade] had only known in Hechler's version—that is in its "prophetic" aspects, which, of course, I don't have much to do with.

Herzl did not share the visions of pious Jews about Palestine

more than those of the Christians:

The pious Christian of England would help us if we went to Palestine. For they expect the coming of the Messiah after the Jews have resumed home. With Goldsmid, I suddenly find myself in another world. He wants to deliver the Holy Sepulcher to the Christians stone by stone: part of it to Moscow, another part to Rome! Like Montagu, he too thinks of a Greater Palestine. (November 1895, Vol. I . p. 282)

And that only interested him. He defined his objectives to Ibrahim—a Turkish diplomat, as follows:

He asked me about the aims of the Zionist Congress. I explained to him the purely nationalist Judaism of the Zionists. (February 15, 1902, Vol. III. p.1217)

Herzl had no illusions about the racial unity of the Jews. During a discussion with Israel Zangwill in London (November 21, 1895) he wrote:

His point of view is a racial one—which I cannot accept if I so much as look at him and at myself. All I am saying is: We are an historical unit, a nation with anthropological diversities. This also suffices for the Jewish State. No nation has uniformity of race. (Vol. I. p.276.)

He had already written in *The Jewish State* that, in truth, Jews are not recognized as belonging to the same race except through the belief of their fathers. This came from a person who did not share the same belief! (as is the case of 85 percent of Israelis today).

Herzl found it strange that the king of Italy could take him for a rabbi: "Sire," exclaimed Herzl, ... "no, no, Sire, our movement is purely nationalist."

He even added:

Napoleon had ideas about restoring the Jewish nation, Sire! No, he only wanted to make the Jews, who were scattered all over the world, his agents, answered the king. (Vol. IV.p. 1599)



Accordingly, this purely nationalistic view, that could not be founded on race, exploited to the utmost degree what he considered to be the biblical "Mighty Legend" which represented a mobilizing force; it alone could attract men and money:

The only country in the world that irresistibly attracts almost all Russian Jews, with the exception of a tiny minority, is Palestine. All other countries attract only the lost children of Judaism. Only the Promised Land, the land of their ancestors calls to all of them, the faithful. (September 11, 1903, Vol. IV. p. 1555)

He held the same position towards the collecting of money as he did towards the gathering of men. To the British foreign minister, Joseph Chamberlain, who offered him some African territories, he replied: "Nobody will give money to such a country..." (April 23, 1903, Vol. IV. p 1473)

Taking into consideration the religious motivations which he did not share with others, Herzl mentioned with regard to the first Zionist Conference in Basel:

In deference to religious considerations, I went to the synagogue on Saturday before the Congress. (September 6, 1897, Vol. II. p. 588)

For the same reasons, Herzl foresaw the utilization of rabbis in the future "Jewish State."

The rabbis will be pillars of my organization and I shall honor them for it. They will arouse the people, instruct them on the boats, and enlighten them on the other side. As a reward they will be formed into a fine, proud hierarchy which, to be sure, will always remain subordinated to the State. (June 14, 1895, Vol. I. p. 104)

2. The conquest of Palestine has been inspired by a nationalism similar to that of the Western countries during the Nineteenth century. Herzl had no illusions about the myth of race, but he insisted on an unconditional attachment to the future Zionist state and a dissociation from the loyalty to the countries in which the Jews lived before

adhering to the new Zionist nationalism.

Relating his meeting in Paris on November 16, 1895, with the Grand Rabbi Zadoc Kahn, and having explained his program to him for two hours, Herzl wrote:

Afterwards he also professed himself to be a Zionist. But he said that a Frenchman's "patriotism" also had its claims. Yes, a man has to choose between Zion and France. (Vol. 1. p. 272)

Herzl added on November 18, 1895:

Anyone who does not declare himself ready to join the migrating Jews has no right to assign them places in various parts of the world. 'Israelite Frenchman'—if there are such—are therefore no Jews in our eyes and our cause is none of their business. (Vol. 1. p. 275)

On the other hand, he was much more satisfied in London when Sir Samuel Montagu, a member of the British Parliament, confessed to him "in confidence—that he felt himself to be more an Israelite than an Englishman." (November 24, 1895, Vol. 1. p. 280)

Hence, one may understand that Herzl evoked "the fear, on the part of the Jewish-liberal papers that the antisemites would question their patriotism." (November 18, 1897, Vol. 11. p. 666)

3. The integration of the Zionist movement with Western colonialism was planned so that the conquest of Palestine would be but one aspect of the policy of Europe.

Herzl had never denied that political Zionism was a colonial venture.

My colonization proposal requires prolonged studies, he wrote to Lord Rothschild. (July 21, 1902, Vol. IV. p. 1308)

His main idea was the same as that of all colonialists: a land is labeled "vacant," open to colonization, when it is not inhabited by Westerners.

In fact, if I could show him a spot in the English possessions where there were no white peoples as yet, we could talk about

that. (October 23, 1902, Vol . IV. p. 1361 )

For Theodor Herzl the major problem with political Zionism was how to embed it in the colonial policies of Germany or England. The objective was to create a "Chartered Company" which could be a private enterprise, but under the protection of a state. Herzl's model was Cecil Rhodes, the diamond and gold magnate in South Africa, an unscrupulous adventurer who, with his billions, managed to create "Rhodesia" and South Africa while deluding the whole world-African peoples and their leaders as well as the British government. In the same manner, Herzl sought to create his "Jewish State " with the fortunes of Baron Hirsch, the Rothschilds and other bankers, and by manipulating all at the same time: Sultan Abdulhamid of the Ottoman Empire, the German Kaiser, British government, and Czar of Russia.

Herzl therefore turned to Cecil Rhodes with admiration, and wrote to him in January 1902:

How, then, do I happen to turn to you, since this is an out-of-the way matter for you? How indeed? Because it is something colonial, and because it presupposes understanding of development which will take twenty or thirty years. There are visionaries who look past greater spaces of time, but they lack a practical sense. Then again there are practical people, like the trust magnates in America, but they lack political imagination. But you, Mr. Rhodes, are a visionary politician or a practical visionary. You have already demonstrated this. And what I want you to do is not to give me or lend me a few guineas, but to put the stamp of your authority on the Zionist plan and to make the following declaration to a few people who swear by you: I, Rhodes, have examined this plan and found it correct and practicable. It is a plan full of culture, excellent for the group of people for whom it is directly designed, not detrimental to the general progress of mankind, and quite good for England, for Greater Britain. If you and your associates supply the requested financial aid for this, you will, in addition to these satisfactions, have the satisfaction of making a good profit. For what is being asked for is money. What is the plan? To settle Palestine with the homecoming Jewish people. ( January 1902, Vol. III. p. 1194)

The objective proclaimed by Theodor Herzl in *The Jewish*

State was to make from the Zionist state an advanced bastion of Western civilization vis-a-vis Oriental barbarism. (*The Jewish State*, p. 32)

In a letter dated April 26, 1896, addressed to the Grand Duke of Bade. he repeated that Zionist wanted to enter Palestine "as representatives of western civilization and bring cleanliness, order, and the well distilled customs of the Occident to this plague-ridden, blighted corner of the Orient. (Vol. I. p. 343)

From that time on, he assumed the role of trustee for collective colonialism, and successively offered his services to various Western colonialist countries (with the exception of France): Germany, England, Russia, Portugal, and Italy.

To each he flashed a different advantage. First, to England he said:

I shall tell you confidentially what I expect to do. I shall try to obtain the territories necessary for our colonization in one of the English possessions. My last trip to London already had this aim. (August 23, 1903, Vol. IV. p. 1352)

That was his first aim.

It is possible that we stand on the threshold of obtaining a British-Charter and founding the Jewish State? (November 7, 1903, Vol. IV. p. 1372)

When he asked England for territory at El-Arish in Egypt, he pointed out that it was situated on the way to India. When he thought that England could conceivably leave Egypt, he saw in Palestine an alternative access to Persia and India:

I feel that it would be good for our cause if the English were forced to leave Egypt. For then they would have to seek another road to India in place of the Suez Canal, which would be lost to them or at least rendered insecure. At that point a modern Jewish Palestine would be an expedient for them—the railroad from Jaffa to the Persian Gulf. (March 24, 1897, Vol. 11. p. 527)

When Chamberlain proposed Uganda to him, he indicated that the Zionist colony could "safeguard for England the strategic and commercial value of the Cape-Cairo railroad". (January 4, 1902, Vol. III. p. 1023)

At the same time, he exploited the rivalry between England and Germany. On September 16, 1899, he suggested to Eulenburg, the German ambassador in Venice, that "another power could help this movement. At first, I had thought that it could be England, which was natural. But I would be happy if it were to be Germany."

For this he was rewarded with an audience with the Kaiser on October 19, 1898.

When I had propounded the matter of the chartered company and the German protectorate, he gave a quick and satisfied nod.

It must be appreciated that in exchange for German aids, the Zionist colony could endorse the German ambitions in the East, particularly the installation of the railway line Berlin-Istanbul-Baghdad.

At the same time, playing upon the rivalry between Germany and France, he exposed the dangers harbored by Constans, ambassador of France to the court of the Sultan.

To the extent of my knowledge of conditions in France, I think I may say that the appointment of M. Constans as ambassador at Constantinople is a direct answer to His Majesty the Kaiser's journey to the Orient and can only have the purpose of undermining German influence in Turkey. (December 1897, Vol. 11. p. 781)

Finally, he asserted in the presence of Chancellor Bulow, who feared the rise of socialism, that the Zionist movement was its antidote:

With regard to the Socialist aspect of the question, at any rate, we saw eye to eye. He was impressed when I mentioned the fact that at the University of Vienna we have taken students away from Socialism. Some might believe they will set up the Socialist state of the future "over there"; but that was not my view. (September 18, 1896, Vol. 11. p. 668)

The day after publishing the antisemitic pogrom of Kitchener, Herzl suggested to von Plehve, the Minister of Interior responsible for the massacre, to help him get rid of the persecuted Jews who might defect to socialism. He promised "to weaken the revolutionary parties," (Vol. 11. p. 783) and asked from the worst antisemitic person in Europe for a letter, which Plehve sent him on August 12, 1903.

The king of Italy, of whom Herzl demanded Libya in the same colonialistic spirit, answered, "But it is the home of somebody else." (Vol. 11. p. 1597). To this, Herzl retorted that the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the colonial distribution of the spoils therefrom was imminent!

This did not prevent him from haggling with Sultan Abdulhamid over the sale of Palestine in exchange for the rehabilitation of his finances by the Zionist bankers, and for world-wide support from the Zionist press and lobby. As to the finances, he came up with a new form of blackmail.

I had declared that we wished to acquire Palestine as a completely independent country, and if we could not get it as such, we would go to Argentina. (June 17, 1896, Vol. 1. p. 367)

With regard to support from the Zionist lobby in Europe, Herzl offered to help the Sultan give his policies concerning the Armenian massacre a more favorable image. In brief

He was bringing the Sultan the means to carry this cut, in the form of Jewish aid. Let the Sultan give us that piece of land, and in return we shall set his house in order, straighten out his finances, and influence public opinion all over the world in his favor. There was another way of winning the Sultan over: through supporting him in the Armenian situation. (June 8, 1896, Vol. 1. p. 363)

I am to influence the European press (in London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna) to handle the Armenian question in a spirit more friendly to the Turks. (June 32, 1896, Vol. 1. p. 387)

When, in Paris, Bernard Lazare defended the Armenians, Herzl reproached him. (Vol. 1. p. 1201). In fact, such a defense was tantamount to depriving the Zionist venture of one of its trumps."

(May 7, 1896, Vol. 1. p. 346)

Herzl, gladly making the most of the power of his lobby, wrote:

The Zionists obey a "mot d'ordre" (command) from Manchuria to Argentina, from Canada to the Cape and New Zealand. The greatest concentration of our adherents is in Eastern Europe. Of the five million Jews in Russia, surely for civilized languages. Every single day there are mass meetings of our people in the most diverse places.

In England we have countless Christian friends, in the Church as well as in the press, and in the House of Commons there are 37.

The American ambassador in Constantinople proposed an alternative solution to Herzl.

Mesopotamia, he said, was attainable. There are no church rivalries there, and it is the original home of Israel. Abraham came from Mesopotamia, and there we could make use of the mystic elements, too. (December 29, 1899, Vol. 111. p. 899)

Herzl did not eliminate that possibility to fall back upon. In the same way, he made alluring financial propositions to Portugal with a view to acquire its colony of Mozambique.

I started out from Chamberlain's Uganda suggestion—and hit upon Mozambique. I will try to get this inactive land for a Chartered Company from the Portuguese government, which needs money, by promising to meet the deficit and to pay a tribute later. However, I want to acquire Mozambique only as an object of barter in order to get for it from the English government the entire Sinai Peninsula with Nile water summer and winter, and possibly Cyprus as well—and for nothing! (May 13, 1903, Vol. IV. p. 1487)

From all this, it becomes evident that, ever since the Congress of Basel in August 1897, on the eve of which Theodor Herzl could justifiably write: "In Basel I have founded the Jewish State" (Vol. 11. p. 581), the strategy of the Zionist conquest consisted of incorporating

itself within the wake of the colonial movement, seeking the patronage of one of the colonial powers while simultaneously playing on their rivalries, and before long on their defiant confrontations.

Let them be jealous of one another, Englishmen and Russians, Protestants and Catholics. Let them contend over me—that way our cause will be furthered. (April 23, 1896, Vol. 1, p. 333)

The covetous colonial scuffle over the "Oriental Question", i.e., around the perspective of distributing the spoils from the Ottoman Empire, was a necessary condition to the success of the Zionist venture.

The solution of the Palestinian Question—I no longer say "Jewish Question"—is a complement of the most recent happenings in Asia. (March 10, 1898, Vol. III. p. 800)

4. This wheeling and dealing with the various colonial powers to get a colony anywhere, provides the evidence that the "Mighty Legend" of Palestine, the original patrimony of the Hebrews and the Promised Land, was nothing more than a pretext and a slogan mobilized for a purely nationalistic and colonial enterprise.

Herzl's first field of action was South America.

Those South American republics must be obtainable for money. (June 12, 1895, Vol. 1. p. 92) We left our diplomatic negotiators in South America where they were concluding treaties of occupation with the states. These treaties are now completed, and we are assured of the land that we are going to occupy. (June 13, 1895, Vol. 1. p. 136)

He declared to Joseph Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister:

"I want to ask the British government for a Colonization Charter."

"Don't say *charter*. "The word has a bad sound right now."

"We can call it whatever you like. I want to found a Jewish colony in a British possession."

"Take Uganda !" ( 1902, Vol . IV. p. 1294)



This African project met with violent resistance especially from among the Russian Zionists.

They want to give me an ultimatum: I must drop the idea of East Africa. I shall first of all mobilize the lower masses against these inciters to rebellion; I have sent instructions to Awinowitzky in Odessa. In addition, I shall cut off their supply of money, etc. (December 4, 1903, Vol. IV. p. 1572)

The issue went far: at the Sixth Zionist Congress, Herzl was accused of treason, and the movement was on the edge of schism. But Herzl had already up his sleeve other propositions: In the Mediterranean, there was the Sinai peninsula—the Egyptian Palestine—and Cyprus in particular.

First of all having a current created in our favor in Cyprus. We ought to be invited to come there. I would have this prepared for by half a dozen emissaries. Once we establish the Jewish Eastern Company with 5 million pounds capital, for settling Sinai and El Arish, the Cypriots will begin to want that golden rain on their island, too. The Muslims will move away, the Greeks will gladly sell their lands at a good price and migrate to Athens or Crete. (Interview with Joseph Chamberlain of October 23, 1902, Vol. IV. p. 1362)

Together with South America, Africa (Uganda or Mozambique) and the Mediterranean as possibilities, Asia was chosen as a place to fall back upon. In the letter of July 28, 1902, addressed to the Sultan, Herzl proposed anew to settle the Ottoman debts.

We asked in return for a charter or concession for a colonization company in Mesopotamia and in a smaller part of Palestine. This company would naturally pay a fee which could be calculated according to families of colonists. (Vol. IV. p. 1321)

5. The objectives of this colonial conquest under the protection of any power were diversified, but the means to be adopted were everywhere identical: whether the matter concerned the bargaining over a land and expropriating its occupants, or the seizure of a territory by force, the final objective was always kept secret.

On my main tour I shall everywhere invite a small number of the most respectable (not the wealthiest) men to come to see me, make them take an oath of secrecy, and reveal to them the plan which I am going to announce to the Family Council. Then will follow a second, bigger meeting, the composition of which will be suggested to me by the first group. To this meeting I shall announce the "outflow" plan—there is no mention in it as yet of the State—, telling them only that we are seeking security for our capital and new soil for our labor. (July 12, 1895, Vol. 1. p. 82)

The voluntary expropriation will be accomplished through our secret agents. The Company would pay excessive prices. We shall then sell only to Jews, and all real estate will be traded only among Jews. To be sure, we shall not be able to do this by declaring other sales invalid. Even if this did not run counter to the modern world's sense of justice, our power would not suffice to force it through. (June 12, 1895, Vol. 1. p. 89)

For example, in South America,

At the start, before they even know that we are coming over, we could get big concessions in return for the mere prospect of loaning them money at one percent less! (June 12, 1895, Vol. 1. p. 92)

The same deceitful stratagem prevailed in all other operations. For instance, on October 24, 1902, he gave Lord Landsdowne, the British Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, assurances,

to prevent even the shadow of a doubt from arising about the absolute peacefulness of the settlements in El Arish, etc., if we are granted them. (Vol. IV. p. 1365)

The same day, the Minister, Joseph Chamberlain, told him,...

Reassure Lord Landsdowne that you are not planning a Jameson raid from El Arish into Palestine.

"I shall set his mind at rest, Mr. Chamberlain!" I said, also smiling. (Vol. IV. p. 1369)

Herzl wrote in his diaries on January 4, 1902, when he was hoping to get Cyprus as a starting base,

We would rally on Cyprus and one day go over to Eretz Israel and take it by force, as it was taken from us long ago. (Vol. 111. p. 1023)

Generalizing this principle, he wrote on July 1, 1897,

We must organize ourselves for a goal attainable soon, under the Zion flag and maintaining all of our historic claims. Perhaps we can demand Cyprus from England, and even keep an eye on South Africa or America-until Turkey is dissolved. (Vol. 111. p. 644)

Thus, it was clear to Herzl that all concessions to be accorded were only a starting point toward an ultimate conquest. Henceforth, this became the constant Zionist policy, then that of the state of Israel, with the same "biblical" pretext: "Area: from the Brook of Egypt to Euphrates." (October 15, 1897, Vol. 11. p. 711)

The prehistory of the state of Israel shows that it was born due to two wars: that of 1914-1918, where the necessity of gaining the utmost world support, especially that of America, conduced England to make the promises of the Balfour Declaration in 1917; and the war of 1939-1945. Having refused all other countries offering to accommodate the Jews persecuted by the Nazis, "the Zionist leaders succeeded in imposing the myth according to which the creation of the state of Israel was the ineluctable consequence of Hitlerism."

The Zionist state expanded due to five wars:

1. the one that ended in 1948, by annexing a territory exceeding the frontiers assigned to it by the United Nations;
2. the war of 1956 aggression (in complicity with England and France) against Egypt;
3. that of 1967, of which the new annexations made
4. the war of 1973 inevitable; and, finally,
5. the invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

The fact that the Middle East has suffered devastation and bloodshed since the state of Israel was imposed on it emanates from the relentless political Zionism forged by Theodor Herzl, and which has been realized through time by the Israeli parties, whether the party was that of Ben Gurion or of Menahem Begin.

Despite their disputes, they shared the same ideology of

violence. The apologetic author of the biography of Ben Gurion, the first leader of the Israeli Labor party, wrote about his hero that "he never believed in the possibility of coexisting with the Arabs. The less there are Arabs within the future state of Israel, the better. He did not say that explicitly, but the impression deduced from his statements and remarks is very clear: a gigantic offensive against the Arabs will not only break down their attacks, but it will reduce to the maximum the percentage of the Arab population in the State... One may accuse him of racialism, but one must establish the process of all the Zionist movement which was founded on the principle of the purely Jewish entity in Palestine". (Bar Zuhar, *Ben Gurion, le prophète armé*, Ed. Fayard, Paris, 1966, p. 146)<sup>4</sup>

Ben Gurion treated Begin as "Hitlerian" when the latter followed the same sanguine dream. E. Haber wrote that Ben Gurion declared that Begin incontestably belonged to the Hitlerian type, that he was a racist disposed to destroy all the Arabs in the yoke of his dream of the unification of Israel, and ready to use all means to achieve this sacred end.<sup>5</sup>

This debate was reported by the unapologetic biography of Menahem Begin.

## I HOW THE STATE OF ISRAEL WAS BORN AND MAINTAINED

### A. Partition and the Policy of "Fait Accompli"

The trials of Nuremberg (in the beginning of 1946) of the Nazi criminals of war brought into light the crimes against humanity committed by the followers of Hitler.

The Zionist propaganda tried hard to attach this tragic moment of history to the Jewish history: "All this was nothing but the most hideous program in history." <sup>6</sup>

Having "forgotten" that Hitler has cost the world 100 million lives, the figure most remembered is that of 6 million Jews.<sup>7</sup> It was proclaimed that the latter figure indicates "the greatest genocide in history." This became the concern of all the world: the Americans who have committed much greater genocide—that of more than 20

million Indians; the Russians, whose Stalinian "purges" have cost more than 10 million dead; the European colonialists (French, British, or others) whose "treatment of the Negroes" (from 10 to 20 million slaves deported to America and 10 million killed in captivity) had left between 100 and 200 million dead. The "greatest genocide in history" allowed people to relegate the precedents to oblivion. For the Zionists, it was a staggering argument to legitimize not only the existence of the state of Israel, but also any of its future exactions; those related to a messianic event and to the crowning of the history of Israel. Even the word "Holocaust" was masterfully chosen for its mystic connotation: a "holocaust" is a religious sacrifice immolating one or numerous victims to one divinity. Accordingly, the Zionist state became untouchable, as if it were a sacred moment in the divine harmonious setting of history. As Herschel puts it in short and in a revealing formula: The state of Israel is the answer of God to Auschwitz.<sup>8</sup>

History—but not the Zionist history nor the mythical history—shows, in fact, that the state of Israel was not created consequent upon a promise of or a donation from God, nor even upon a decision of the United Nations, but—alas—similar to other states in the world, through armed violence and "fait accompli."

The United Nations Resolution of the Partition of Palestine was adopted in the General Assembly on November 29, 1947. On that date; the Jews constituted 32 percent of the population and owned 5.6 percent of the land. The state of Israel received 56 percent of the territory including the most fertile areas.

The voting on this plan of partition gave vent to sordid maneuvers. On December 18, 1947, a member of the American Congress, Lawrence H. Smith, raised the question before the Congress:

"Let's take a look at the record, Mr. Speaker, and see what happened in the United Nations' Assembly meeting prior to the vote on partition. A two-thirds vote was required to pass the resolution. On two occasions the assembly was to vote and twice it was postponed... In the meantime, it is reliably reported that intense pressure was applied to the delegates of three small nations by the United States' member and also by officials at the highest levels in Washington ... The decisive votes for

partition were cast by Haiti, Liberia and the Philippines. These votes were sufficient to make the two-thirds majority. Previously, these countries opposed the move... The pressure by our delegates, by our officials, and by the private citizens of the United States constitutes reprehensible conduct against them and against us".<sup>9</sup>

Drew Pearson, of *Chicago Daily*, in his newspaper column of December 2, 1947 gave some details: "Harvey Firestone, who owns rubber plantations in Liberia, got busy with the Liberian Government...."

President Truman put unprecedented pressure on the State Department. Sumner Welles, the Under Secretary of State, wrote: "By direct order of the White House, every form of pressure, direct and indirect, was brought to bear by American officials... to make sure that the necessary majority would at length be secured."<sup>10</sup>

Secretary for Defense James Forrestal, confirms this: "The methods that had been used by people outside of the Executive branch of the government to bring coercion and duress on other nations in the General Assembly bordered closely onto scandal."<sup>11</sup>

About the mechanism of the Zionist lobby pressures and of the "Jewish votes," President Truman himself, before a group of diplomats, in 1946, said that he had to give an answer to the thousands of persons who were waiting for Zionism to succeed.

He added that he did not have thousands of Arabs among his voters. (7) <sup>12</sup>

Former British Prime Minister Earl Clement Attlee, in his Memoirs, testifies that the United States policy in Palestine has been shaped by the Jewish votes and by the contributions of many big Jewish firms.<sup>13</sup>

Between the partition decision of November 29, 1947, and the effective end of British mandatory rule on May 15, 1948, Zionist troops seized territory in the zone allotted to the Arabs (e.g., Jaffa and Acre).

Who, given these circumstances, can reproach the Palestinians and the neighboring countries for not resigning themselves to the monstrous injustice of the "accomplished fact and for refusing to "recognize" the Zionist state?

But the land by itself was not enough; it had to be cleared of its inhabitants, so as to provide not a traditional colony of the sort where a native labor-force is exploited, but a colony of settlement where immigrants take the place of the natives.

To achieve this end the Zionist State engaged in state terrorism, that is, pogroms against the Palestinian population. The most glaring example of this was Deir Yasin. On April 9, 1948, following the example of the Nazis at Oradour, 254 of the inhabitants of this village—men, women, children, old people—were massacred by the troops of the Irgun, whose leader was Menachem Begin.<sup>14</sup> In his book *The Revolt*, Begin writes that without what was done at Deir Yasin there would not have been a state of Israel, and adds: "Meanwhile the Haganah was carrying out successful attacks on the other fronts... The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting 'Deir Yasin!'"<sup>15</sup>

On May 15, 1948, the Secretary-General of the Arab League informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations that the Arab states were obliged to intervene in order to protect the Palestinians.

In 1949, after this first Israeli-Arab war, the Zionists controlled 80 percent of Palestine, and 770,000 Palestinians had been driven out of their country.

The United Nations had appointed a mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte. Count Bernadotte wrote:

It would be an offense against the principles of elementary justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine, and indeed at least offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries. (U.N. Document A. 648, p.14)

He described the "large-scale looting, pillaging and plundering" and "instances of destruction of villages without apparent military necessity."

This report (U.N. Document A. 648, p. 14) was presented on September 16, 1948. On September 17, Count Bernadotte and his French assistant, Colonel Serot, were murdered in the part of Jerusalem occupied by the Zionists.

Faced with worldwide indignation, the Israeli government

arrested the head of the Stern Group, Nathan Friedman-Yellin. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, amnestied, and elected to the Knesset in 1950. The honor of having given the order for the assassination was claimed in July 1971, by Baruch Nadel, who had been one of the leaders of the Stern Group in 1948.<sup>16</sup>

The Zionist leaders of the state of Israel could snap their fingers at the United Nations all the more easily because the majority of the members of that body had connived at the Zionist usurpation in Palestine.

In 1948, before the wave of "decolonization," the United Nations was largely dominated by the Western powers. It violated its own Charter by refusing to the Arabs, who at that time made up two-thirds of Palestine's population, the right to decide their own fate.

Even from the merely juridical standpoint some questions arise.<sup>17</sup> The decision in favor of partition was taken by the General Assembly, not by the Security Council. It thus had the weight of a recommendation only and not that of a decision to be put into effect. The Palestinians, moreover, were not alone in rejecting partition. Begin's Irgun declared at the time that such a partition was illegal and will never be recognized. He called upon the Jews not only to throw out the Arabs but to seize all Palestine.<sup>18</sup>

Ben Gurion wrote: "Until the British left, no Jewish settlement, however remote, was entered or seized by the Arabs, while the Haganah... captured many Arab positions and liberated Tiberias and Haifa, Jaffa and Safad."<sup>19</sup>

It was in this way that the territory originally allotted to the Zionists by U.N.O. (56 percent) was enlarged to include almost 80 percent of Palestine.

In short, it is wrong to say that the state of Israel was "created" by the United Nations. It was "created" by a series of "accomplished facts," by the violence of Haganah, Irgun, and the Stern Group. That is how the history of the "historical rights" was written, burdened with lies and bloodshed.

And it could not have been otherwise, because, in the first place, the mere idea of "historical rights" would lead to chaos and wars if applied over long periods.

If we were to make general this kind of "claim," based on such



"historic rights," our planet would be reduced to chaos. Why should the Italians not assert "historic rights" over France, where, after the conquest of Gaul by Julius Caesar, the Romans reigned for much longer than the Kings of Israel reigned over Palestine? Why should the Scandinavians not claim Normandy, England, and Sicily, in the name of their Norse-Norman "ancestors"? And what would become of Africa if its ancient conquerors were to call for the reconstitution of the Mandingo empire or the paramount chieftaincies of the Fula?

Even if we restrict ourselves to Europe, let us first suppose that the European states applied themselves today to invoking "historic rights" over territories where they reigned or where they formed the majority of the population at some epoch or other. We need go back no further than the Treaties of Westphalia, which, in 1648, marked a "new beginning" in Europe, with the final breakup of "Christendom" and the birth of the nation-state Europe would be thrown into bloody turmoil by the contradictory "historic" claims of every state. The fires would rage from Sweden to Italy and Austria, from Alsace to the Balkans. And what would happen if one were to go back to the fall of the Roman Empire, fifteen centuries ago? All the "nations," with their frontiers, are the results of the conflicts, the relations of strength, the "accomplished facts" of which history consists. Blaise Pascal lucidly observed that, "having failed to ensure that what was just was strong, we have arranged that what was strong was just."

An extreme example of this absurdity can be found in America. The theologian Albert de Pury, of the University of Neuchatel, has written: "the colonizing of America was based on the shameful dispossession of the Indian tribes, but it would not be possible to take that fact as a basis for challenging, today, the legitimacy of the states which have been created on that continent."<sup>20</sup> Yet the "historic rights" of the Indians are far more credible than those of the Zionists. The Indians were not only the first but also the only occupants of America, and had been there for thousands of years until the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the British, and all the other nations of Europe came and decimated them and stole their land. While they possess today the imprescriptible right to insist on being given the means to live, who would think it right for them to consider themselves the sole masters of America, so as to expel or oppress the ethnic groups of European

origin?

Does this mean that, at any moment in history, one ought to give up and abandon oneself to blows and "accomplished facts"? Not at all. The duration of injustice does not create a right. The disappearance of Poland from the map of Europe for nearly a century and a quarter (1795-1918) did not result in the historical death of that country, and its rebirth was made possible only by the indomitable rejection of foreign oppression by its people. The same is true today of the Palestinian people, who have been dispossessed for more than a third of a century of a country where they had lived and worked for thousands of years, driven from it or else made to live there as foreigners in their own land. Their resistance is not the assertion of some abstract or remote "historic right," but a vital, unchallengeable rejection of a permanent act of violence against the very roots of their life.

#### **B. The Functioning of the Zionist Lobby in the United States and in the West.**

A state created to function in accordance with the Zionist ideology of a "Jewish State" as formulated by Theodor Herzl, starting from the thesis of one "Jewish nation" for the whole world, and from a Jewish community existing everywhere and always unassimilable, such a state must raise unprecedented problems.

To begin with, the concept of the "Jewish people" (out of the religious context which, by itself, does not make any problem), confers on this state a paradoxical character from the moment a real state is instituted. Either it manages to gather all the Jews of the world in one territory (a viewpoint which was more particularly taken by Ben Gurion, and which proved to be a failure as less than 20 percent of the world's Jews have emigrated to live in Israel), or the state represents a spearhead to be lanced in view of occupying a central point in the "Diaspora," becoming its authorized advocate and representative all over the world. Such an "extra national" state would lead to great difficulties in the international order.

Ben Gurion speaking at the 25th World Zionist Congress in January 1961, declared that since the day the Jewish state was established and the doors of Israel were opened to all Jews who want to enter, all religious Jews violate every day the precepts of Judaism

and of the Torah by staying in the Diaspora. He denounced the Jews who remain outside Israel as "Godless."<sup>21</sup>

His idea of the relation with the Diaspora is as follows: The state of Israel, geographically speaking, is a part of the Middle East. This is a static element. From the point of view of dynamism, of creation and of growth, Israel is a part of the world Jewish People. From this Diaspora it draws its resources and the necessary means to build the nation of Israel and to develop its land. Thanks to the strength of Jews in the world, it will build and build again.<sup>22</sup>

On another occasion, he went further. He stated that when a Jew, in America or in South Africa, speaks with his Jewish fellows about "our" government, he means the government of Israel. In the same way, the Jewish public, in the various countries, considers the Israeli ambassador as their own representative.<sup>23</sup> At the 23rd Congress of the World Zionist Organization, held in 1951, Ben Gurion did not stop at declaring that a Zionist must come to Israel as an emigrant,<sup>24</sup> but he specifically underscored, when defining the duties of a Zionist living abroad, that "the collective duty of the Zionist Organization and the Zionist movement [is] to assist the state of Israel in all conditions and under all circumstances.... This signifies assisting The State whether the Government to which Jews in question owe allegiance desire it or not."<sup>25</sup>

Even in the World Zionist Congress, there were adversaries who protested, asserting that the result of such a statute for the "World Zionist Movement" would risk the revival of antisemitism, putting the Jews who live outside Israel in a delicate situation in which they might "with some justification fear the charge of double loyalty."<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, Ben Gurion held fast to his attitude to the end. At the Ideological Conference of Jerusalem convened by the World Zionist Organization, he promoted the same ideas by declaring that his Zionism was built upon the conviction that Jews are not a part of the people among whom they live. (Proceedings of the Jerusalem Ideological Conference, p. 149).

This attitude is not confined to Ben Gurion. The theme of "double allegiance" and of having a prior duty to first serve the interest of the state of Israel issues from the internal logic of Zionism.

Time and again, especially in his speeches before the Second

World congress of Jewish Youth, Nahum Goldman condemned those Jews who think that the state in which they live has the right to claim their absolute loyalty. He cited, as an inadmissible pretension, the enquiry undertaken by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American Senate about the activities of the Jewish Agency. He affirmed that the problem of "double allegiance" is the concern of all the Jews of the Diaspora, to the extent that many of them are not willing to admit that the problem exists, and consider the belonging to a world Jewish people as unpatriotic.

Such pretensions, if generalized, would be a menace leading to the disintegration of the American nation, which is entirely composed of immigrants, if the citizens of different origins (Italian, German, Greek, Chinese, etc.) adopt the same principle of "double allegiance."

The State Department was constrained to react. In a letter addressed to the "American Council for Judaism," published by the same on May 7, 1964, Secretary of State Talbot, referring to the principles of the American constitution which were challenged by the Zionist leaders, reminded them that his country recognized the state of Israel as a sovereign state as well as Israeli citizenship. But it did not recognize any other sovereignty or citizenship in this regard (double allegiance). It did not recognize politico-legal relations based on the religious identification of American citizens. It does not make any discrimination among the American citizens on account of their religion. Consequently, "it should be clear that the Department of State does not regard the 'Jewish people concept' as a concept of international law." (*New York Times*, May 8, 1964)<sup>27</sup>

Such a position was taken at the time when the work of the Inquiry Committee, formed by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American Senate and presided over by Senator J.W. Fulbright, was on the brink of revealing, at the same time, the reality of this position and the true nature of the activities of the Zionist Organization in the United States. On the other hand, the Committee considers the impossibility of taking the measures consequent upon this declaration about the principle, precisely because of the Jewish lobby's powerful influence.

It is of import at this point to underline that the "World Zionist Organization" is an integral part of the Israeli State, a sort of ministry

exercising its functions outside the country. This is due to the Zionist messianic principle, according to which the state of Israel has as its mission to gather all the Jews all over the world.

The statute of this Organization instituted by a vote in the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) on November 24, 1952, under the title "The World Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency" (paragraphs 5 and 6 of this law) defines its official attributes:

Article 5 stipulates that the mission of gathering the Jews in exile is the task of the state of Israel and the Zionist Movement. This requires a continuous effort from the Jews in Diaspora. The state of Israel depends on the participation of all Jews and all Jewish organizations in building up the state, and recognizes the need for unifying all Jewish communities in order to achieve this end.

Article 6 stipulates that the state of Israel depends on the "World Zionist Organization" in realizing this unification.<sup>28</sup>

This legalization was confirmed in July 1954, by a new resolution passed in the Knesset under the caption "Fundamental Principles of the Government Program." Paragraph 59 of this legislative act stipulates that in accordance with the World Zionist Organization and the Convention between the government and the Zionist Executive, the government had accorded its loyal support to the Zionist movement, underscoring the requirement that the objectives of Zionism be realized voluntarily and by increasing financial contribution, propagation of the Hebrew language, the development of the pioneers movement, immigration of children and youth, expansion of settlement, influx of capital into Israel, struggle against all manifestations toward assimilation and denial that Jews constitute one nation.

The "Zionist Organization" in each country has not only an agent from a foreign country, i.e., Israel, but it also belongs to the state of Israel since it is an official body instituted by Israeli laws.

Nevertheless, the "Zionist Organization" (Jewish Agency) in the United States has benefited from the law that favors charitable societies with the fiscal exemptions relating to all money collections therefore.

Already in May 1957, and in May, June, July 1958, senator Ralph E. Flanders declared in the Senate: "When the immigration

policies of Israel were directed toward making a home for refugees, it was proper to have those activities supported by tax-free American contributions. The present policies are not refugee policies. They are the policies inherent in the Zionist program, the in-gathering of the Jews from all over the earth. Whether they are oppressed or not, matters not, so long as they are Jews—bring them into the new Zion no matter what injustices are perpetrated on the former owners of the land. Not one penny of tax-free American money should go into this project. In fairness to American taxpayers, the Treasury must reexamine the tax-free status of the contributions to the United Jewish Appeal." (Congressional Record)

The new orientation of immigration was confirmed by two Israeli officials. Mr. Yigal Allon, Israeli Minister of Labor, According to the *Jewish Chronicle* of March 6; 1964 said:

The *Jewish Chronicle* of March 6, 1964, said: "Israel's age of immigration will come to an end. in three years.. Mr. Yigal Allon, the Israeli Minister of Labor has forecast... The main accessible reservoirs of immigration are being depleted. Those Jews who stay on in North Africa, for example, are doing so because they are finding life there congenial." <sup>29</sup>

Moshe Dayan, Minister of agriculture, wants increased *Aliyah* from Britain. The London *Jewish Chronicle* of March 13, 1964 quotes him as saying at the thirteenth annual conference of Hitachdut Olei Britannia (the Union of Immigrants from Britain to Israel): "Immigration to Israel would have to persuade Western Jews to come in large numbers... You hold the key to the problem, he told them."<sup>30</sup>

On May 29, and on 1st August 1963, the hearings before the Senate committee of inquiry into the dealings of the "Zionist Organization" showed that it was not satisfied with its posturing as a philanthropic institution (so that donors would avoid the income tax), but it indulged into political activities for the account of a foreign government. This made the nature of the policy questionable.

The Inquiry Committee revealed the existence of a powerful Israeli "Lobby" in the U.S.A and it exposed its financial and political mechanism. The President of the committee, Senator Fullbright. questioned Mr. Isadore Hamlin, the Director of the American Section

of the "Jewish Agency" (World Zionist Organization)<sup>31</sup>:

CHAIRMAN: "I show you a copy of an undated memorandum titled 'American Zionist Council, Committee on Information and Public Relations,' which outlines that committee's plans for the 1962-1963 budgetary year, and ask if a copy of this memorandum appears in your files?"

MR. HAMLIN: "Yes, sir. This appeared in our files."

#### The Memorandum:

The Committee carries on a major part of its work through highly specialized subcommittees composed of professionals in specific areas of activity.... The Committee plans to operate in the following areas during the 1962-1963 budgetary year.

1. Magazines. Cultivation of editors. Stimulation and placement of suitable articles in the major consumer magazines. Reprinting and distribution of favorable materials which appear in the above publications. Stimulation of articles in trade and specialized journals....
2. TV, Radio, Films. The Department arranges for talks and interviews on Radio and TV, and servicing of film requests. It also cultivates leading personalities in these media. It encourages networks and stations to create programs revolving around Israel.
3. Christian Religious Groups. Cultivation of key religious leaders and groups. Setting up Seminars on Israel for Christian clergy. Stimulating of positive articles in the Protestant and Catholic press. Counteraction of hostile material in the press...
4. Academic Circles. Support of the American Association for Middle East Studies.... Cultivation of leaders in the academic community. Stimulation of "Israel Day" on college campuses. Cooperation with colleges and universities in setting up of Seminars on the Middle East Monitoring and counteraction of material in the campus press. Stimulating of articles in academic journals. Guidance to student Zionists and other Jewish students on Arab Israel issues.... Preparation of materials for elementary and high school faculty.
5. The Daily Press. Cultivation of editors. Stimulation of positive material via syndicated writers, columnists, etc. Counteraction of hostile material. Reprinting and distribution of favorable material.
6. Books. Assistance to publishers in the promotion of

worthwhile books. Distribution of books to public and college libraries.

7. Speakers. The Speakers Bureau will continue to utilize Israelis, American Christians and American Jews on academic, religious, civic, and other platforms around the country for positive presentations on Israel.
8. Liaison with organizations, both on the national and local levels, especially those with an international relations program. Special liaison with the Negro community.
9. Projects and Issues. Issuance of special material and guidance on controversial issues such as Arab refugees, Syrian-Israel relations, etc.
10. Visitors to Israel. Subsidization to individual public opinion molders to help provide them with an experience in Israel. Inter-University Committee Study Tour to Israel. Organize other tours in which public opinion molders will participate. Provide suitable arrangements in Israel for handling of American visitors." (p. 1339-40)

The Chairman showed Mr. Hamlin a letter from the Executive of the Jewish Agency, Office of the Treasurer, Jerusalem, May 30, 1962, Dr. L. A. Pincus, to his representative in New York, Dr. L. Moyal, at the Jewish Agency-American Section. It was all about the American Zionist Council, and read in part as follows:

"The matter of the AZC will come up for final decision before the Executive next Monday. Whatever that decision may be, and the details will be worked out later, will you kindly for the month of June give Mr. Bick \$15,000 per week without requiring any details as to the items of expenditure.... The recommendation that is being made to the Executive, and which will probably be accepted, is as follows: \$712,000 to be contributed by us; \$300,000 to be raised by the American Zionist Council itself.... L. A. PINCUS." (P. 1334.)

The following dialogue between the Committee Chairman and Mr. Hamlin is very instructive:

Chairman: Is it correct to infer... that the financial arrangements for the American Zionist Council were directly with the Jerusalem Agency?

Mr. Hamlin: The Treasurer of the Jerusalem Jewish Agency, Mr. Pincus, negotiated this understanding with the AZC.



Yes, sir. (p.1705)

Chairman: Then it is quite clear, if I understand you, that the Jewish Agency Executive... uses the AZC as the conduit for the dissemination of funds in this country?

Mr. Hamlin. The AZC accepted these funds and turned them over to the Zionist groups....

Chairman: Did not this, in effect, avoid the clear requirement that would have applied if they paid it directly, that they would have to report it under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?... You have already said it wasn't for the Zionist Council's purposes. It was for somebody else's purposes and this was concealed by this method of reporting, wasn't it?... You give it to A, and A gives it to B, and B gives it to C, and C finally uses it, but by that time nothing whatever is disclosed as to what he does with it... There are so many different affiliated organizations with very similar names, and it is almost impossible for me to follow just what happens.<sup>32</sup>

This is how the existence of a "lobby" was unveiled. Together with it, a complicated net of organisms was revealed, showing how the different pressures of these organizations belonging to a foreign power could manipulate public opinion to bend American policy and turn it in a direction corresponding with the interests of Israel.

The channels of infiltration are very diversified; from among hundreds, here are some examples:

Jewish Telegraphic Agency:<sup>33</sup> is financed by the American Jewish Federation and is alleged to undertake "charitable activities" (and, as such, is tax-exempt). It actually distributes to certain newspapers the messages coming from the Israeli government and its international branch, "the World Zionist Organization."

The Council of American Synagogues: is commissioned to work out and elaborate "educative" texts on the "construction of Israel," among other activities. The chairman of the Senate Inquiry Committee could add to the file the following letter of gratitude dated June 32, 1960, addressed by the president of the Council of Synagogues to the vice-chairman of the Jewish Agency of Israel, alias "World Zionist Organization."

Mr. Gottlieb Hammer

"Dear Gottlieb,

For your information, I am enclosing a confidential and detailed report of the services we have been enabled to perform as a result of the generous grants... provided through your good offices.

With deepest appreciation  
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
Executive Director." <sup>34</sup>

Conference of Presidents: Composed of the heads of the various American Zionist organizations to act on the political issues. <sup>35</sup>

The Hebraic Cultural Foundation: Specialized in establishing new universities. Regarding the grant given to the Middle East Studies Center of Harvard, the chairman of the Inquiry Committee asked Mr. Hamlin: Would you consider it normal that a foreign agent offers Harvard or other universities such grants? <sup>36</sup>

The 300-page documentary overflows with information of this kind. The president of the Commission, Senator Fullbright, in an interview with the CBS Program "Face the Nation" on October 7, 1963, declared that "the Israelis are controlling the policy of the Congress and the Senate. They have at their disposal more than 70 votes out of 100 in the Senate, as witnessed by all voting on the systematic government proposals to increase (always considerably) the military and economic aid to the state of Israel." When the interviewer remarked that this was a "grave accusation," the senator responded that it was in fact a serious accusation to say that his colleagues in the Senate, about 70 of them, "make their decision under the pressure of a lobby which is in their own vision contrary to what they consider as principles of liberty and right."

In the following elections, Senator Fullbright lost his seat.

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

## II

### THE INTERIOR POLITICS OF THE ZIONIST STATE STATE RACISM, AND TERRORISM

The two fundamental characteristics of Israeli politics are racism and expansion.

The basic principle that binds the one with the other was formed with absolute clarity by Theodor Herzl. In his *Diaries*, where he reported his interviews with Prince Hohenlohe, the chancellor of the German Empire, he formulated this principle when he wrote on October, 1898:

The Prince asked me which land we intend to have. Would it be to the North till Beirut or further? I said to him, "We shall ask for what we need. The more immigrants there will be, the more land we shall need." <sup>53</sup>

Already in his book, *L'Etat Juif*, he used such a disturbing formula for the future "that a guarantee should be obtained to ascertain us the sovereignty over a part of the globe big enough to satisfy the legitimate requirements of a nation. The rest we shall accomplish ourselves". <sup>54</sup>

The claim became more clear and precise when a Protestant Pastor, Hechler, in an Orient-Express train...

Deployed in the compartment a map of Palestine: the Northern frontiers should be facing the mountains of Cappadocia (in Turkey), the Southern, the Suez Canal. Herzl concluded: "our slogan will be: Palestine of David and Solomon." <sup>55</sup>

One of Theodor Herzl's closest friends and advisors, David Triestch, wrote to him on October 29, 1899:

I should like to suggest that you would revise from time to time the program of "Greater Palestine" before it is too late. The program of Basel must include the words 'Greater Palestine' or "Palestine and the neighboring territories," without which the program becomes without sense. You will not be able to gather 10 million Jews in a territory of 25000 km<sup>2</sup>.

All the aggressions and expansion of the state of Israel emanate from this inexorable Zionist political principle. Ben Gurion specified that when the time or realization comes, the first problem would be to bring in the immigrants. On August 31, 1949, addressing a group of Americans visiting Israel, he declared that though their dream of creating a Jewish state was realized, the Israelis were only at the start.

There were only 900,000 Jews in Israel, while the majority of the Jewish people were still outside. Their future duty, he continued, was to bring all the Jews into Israel.

The goal of Ben Gurion was to bring into Israel 4,000,000 Jews between 1951 and 1961. Only 800,000 went in the period. In 1960, the total of immigrants was 30,000. In 1975-76, immigration from Israel surpassed emigration. Nevertheless, all sorts of pressures have been exercised on the most opportune occasions to help bring the refugees to Palestine. These pressures, which we have already portrayed, were meant to close all other doors in countries that were disposed to accept the refugees.

There was pressure on the persecuted Jews themselves. In 1945, of the 112,000 "displaced persons" who were in the American occupied zone, 55,000 asked to emigrate to America, and the majority wanted to go elsewhere than Palestine, despite the intense propaganda of the Zionist Organization.

In summation, for the whole of the refugees, out of two and a half million Jewish victims of Nazism who sought refuge abroad between 1935 and 1943, hardly 8.5 percent settled in Palestine. The United States limited the immigration to 182,000 (less than 7 percent, England admitted 67,000 (less than 2 percent), while the vast majority, i.e., 75 percent found refuge in the Soviet Union. (The figures are given by the Institute for Jewish Affairs of New York, and cited by Christopher Sykes in *Crossroad to Israel* (London 1965), and by Nathan Weinstock in *Le Sionisme Contre Israel*, p. 146.)

In this respect, it may be useful to underline the racist character of the propaganda of the Zionist movement, largely orchestrated in America, about the destiny- of Jews in the Soviet Union (2,000,000 in number).

The Soviet Union, besides the United States, had the heaviest weight in deciding on the U.N. Resolution of the partition of Palestine in favor of the Zionists. By acting in this manner, the USSR played a decisive role in the creation of the state of Israel.

It is fitting to recall that quite often ministers in the Soviet Union are Jews, and that in the domain of intellectual activities, the liberal professions, and the management posts, Jews are represented at an exceptionally high proportion. Although the Jewish community

does not constitute more than 1 percent of the population, there are 8.5 percent Jews among writers and journalists, 10 percent among university professors, 10 percent among scientists, 7 percent among musicians, painters, sculptors, and actors, 10 percent among judges and lawyers, 15.7 percent among medical doctors, and 33 percent among those engaged in the cinema industry.<sup>56</sup> There is no other community in the USSR not even the "pure Russians" who largely imposed upon the national communities which reached in the intellectual domain such a proportion in relation to their numerical importance.

It is true that from the Zionist point of view, this policy of assimilation is its worst enemy in the USSR, as elsewhere, including the United States. It is true that the Jewish religion is encountered by the total incomprehension of the Soviet leaders. But this incomprehension, together with the mistrust, has the same effect and is reflected in the same manner on all religious communities: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim.

And it is also true that the Jews encountered difficulties when they opted to get out of Russia. But why do we not remember that this is also true-alas!- in the case of all Soviet citizens?

It is necessary to recall these facts, not to exonerate the Soviet Union, but to expose the sectarian bigotry and the racism of the Zionists. They are so eager to defend the Jews of the Soviet Union, as if they were the only victims, instead of defending the religious rights of all the communities and the right of free movement for all people.

As if propaganda were not sufficient, Zionist leaders took a further step: on May 2, 1948, Rabbin Klausner, who was in charge of the "displaced persons," submitted a report which became famous to the Jewish American Conference. He stated that he was convinced that people must be forced to go to Palestine. They are not ready to understand their proper situation nor what the future promises. To them an American dollar looks like the greatest of aims. By "to force" he meant a program that had already been applied, and very recently, in the case of evacuating the Jews of Poland and in the history of the "exodus." He wrote, "I am convinced that these people must go to Palestine... To effect this program it becomes necessary for the Jewish community at large to reverse its policy and instead of creating comforts for the displaced persons to make them as uncomfortable as

possible... A further procedure would call for an organization like the Haganah to harass the Jews." Supplies of goods should be decreased and all the protection actually offered by the Councilor of Jewish affairs, displaced persons Chaplain, and by the officers of the agency should be withdrawn. It must be borne in mind that the leaders were dealing with sick people. They should not ask them their views, but tell them what they should do, and after a few years they would be grateful.<sup>57</sup>

If the program was not acceptable, an "incident" could be introduced that would constrain the American Jewish Community to reverse its policy and to promote the changes suggested in the report. There would be much more suffering, a strong wave of antisemitism, and the struggle would be harder, to achieve the success that could perhaps be achieved today.<sup>58</sup>

The "incidents" to which Klausner referred are those antisemitic provocations organized by the Israeli Zionists themselves. For instance, in 1940, to raise indignation against the British who had decided to save the Jews threatened by Hitler by taking them to Mauritius Island, the Zionist leaders of the "Haganah" (whose chieftain was Ben Gurion) did not hesitate to explode the ship when it made a stop at Haifa on December 25, 1940, causing the death of 252 Jews and the members of the British crew. This event has been reported, eighteen years later, by Dr. Herzl Rosenblum, editor of the Tel-Aviv Zionist daily *Yediot Ahronot*. Moshe Sharett, who alternated between the posts of prime minister of Israel and director of the Jewish Agency, judging this event, wrote in his *Diaries*: "It is sometimes necessary to sacrifice some few to save a greater number."

David Flinker, the New York correspondent of the Israeli newspaper *Tog Journal*, commenting on the Sharett Anniversary speeches, objected, saying:

Yes it is true that the leader may sometimes send his soldiers to death in order to save a city or a country. But this question is to know whether this was the case in the event of "Patria"... Undermining this ship was a political demonstration against the British, entailing the death of 250 innocent Jews: men, women and children.<sup>59</sup>

It is not a matter of an isolated action.

Another example is that of the Israeli Jews, whose first nucleus was constituted 2500 years ago by the exiles brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, after the destruction of the Kingdom of Judah. The Jewish community (110,000 persons in 1948) was well established in the country. The great Rabbi of Iraq, Khedouri Sassoon, declared, "The Jews and the Arabs have enjoyed the same rights and privileges during one thousand years and they are not considered as separate elements in this nation."

Israeli terrorist action started in Baghdad in 1950. In face of the hesitation of Jews to register on the lists of immigration to Israel, the Israeli Secret Service did not hesitate to throw bombs at them. The attack on Shem-Tov synagogue killed three persons and wounded tens of them.<sup>60</sup> Thence, the exodus baptized "Operation Ali Baba" started.

This method does not seem to have changed. At the time of massacres in Sabra and Shatila in Beirut, Taher Ben Jelloun observed:

It is the coincidences which by repeating themselves ultimately become a major indicator. At present, one knows what purpose is served by an antisemitic attempt in Europe, and who gets profit from the crime: It served to cover up a deliberate massacre of civil Palestinians and Lebanese. One can ascertain that the attempts are preceded or followed by or coincided with a blood bath in Beirut. These terrorist operations are mounted in such a manner and are executed with such a perfection that they have till now fulfilled, directly and indirectly, the political objective in pursuit: i.e., to deviate the attention every time the Palestinian question gains a little more comprehension or meets with sympathy. Is it not a question of systematically reserving the situation to create victims of executioners and of terrorists? By making "terrorists" of Palestinians, they are expelled from history, and consequently lose their rights.

Was not the murder of Rue des Rosiers on August 9 preceded a few hours earlier by a deluge of all sorts of bombs hitting Beirut?

Was not the assassination of Bashir Gemayel followed two hours later by the entry of the Israeli Army into West Beirut (the event which eclipsed the historic visit of Yasser Arafat to the Pope?)

Was it not that the explosion of the booby-mined car in Rue Cardinet, and the following day's shooting before the Synagogue of Brussels, coincided with the unprecedented massacre of the Palestinian camps in Sabra and Shatila?<sup>61</sup>

Since Herzl, antisemitism has become the best helper of Zionism. The chairman of the World Zionist Organization, on July 23, 1958, at the opening session of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva, declared:

The decline in open antisemitism could constitute a danger to the Jewish survival... The Jews almost everywhere have equal rights with other citizens, on the economic as well as on the political levels. However, the disappearance of antisemitism in the classic sense of the term, though beneficial to the political and material situation of the Jewish communities, has, nevertheless, had negative effects in the interior life of our movement.

It is significant that Zionist leaders, in their fear of "assimilation" and their desire to maintain Jewish identity, depend more on antisemitism than on developing Jewish values. This is evidently difficult to do when the Jew is not identified by his belief, but by his "ethnic" origin.

This difficulty of defining who is a Jew, outside the religious criterion, is reflected in the heart of the Israeli legislation itself, oscillating between religious and racial criteria.

Professor Klein, the director of the Institute of Comparative Law in the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, in his book, *Caractere Juif de l'Etat d'Israel* (ed. Cujas, Paris, 1977) has written on this phenomenon. The fundamental text is that concerning the Law of Return (No. 5710, 1950), which stipulates: "Article 1. The Zionist doctrine is officially professed by the State.... Article 4. b... is considered as a Jew a person born of a Jewish or a converted mother." <sup>63</sup>

Thus, other than conversion to Judaism, which is rare in our days,<sup>64</sup> the essential criterion is racial: the birth from a Jewish mother, as it was during the period of Jewish decadence, in the days of Ezra and Nehemis.

A judge in the Israeli Supreme Court, Haim Cohen, stated with bitterness: "The bitter irony of fate has willed that the same biological and racist theses propagated by the Nazis constitute the base of the



official definition of Judaism within the center of the State of Israel."<sup>65</sup>

It is a pity that the question is not the "irony" of history or of destiny, but the ruthless logic of Zionism. There are not many ways to "preserve the purity of the race" once one believes in the myth of race.

In the trials of the war criminals in Nuremberg, in the cross-examination of the theoretician of race, Julius Streicher, the following question was asked:

In 1935, in the Party Congress at Nuremberg, the 'racial laws' were promulgated. As from the time of preparation of this project of law, have you been called for consultation, and have you participated by any means in the elaboration of this law?

Defendant Streicher: Yes, I believe I have participated therein, in a sense that, for years, I have been writing that it was necessary to prevent in the future all mixing of German blood with Jewish blood. I have written articles conveying this meaning, and I have always repeated that we should take the Jewish race, or the Jewish people as an example. I have always repeated in my articles that Jews should be taken as an example for other races, because they have adopted a racial law for themselves, the law of Moses which says: "if you go to a foreign country, you should not take a foreign wife."

Thus, in the laws of Nuremberg it is Jewish laws that have been taken as example. Some centuries earlier, when the Jewish legislator Ezra stated that despite the law many Jews married non-Jewish women, these marriages were dissolved. "This established the origin of Jewry which, owing to its racial laws, has subsisted over the centuries, while all other civilizations have been wiped out."<sup>66</sup>

That is how the jurist counselors to the Nazi Ministry of Interior elaborated the "Laws of Nuremberg, the right of the people of the Reich and of the protection of the German blood and German honor." These jurist counselors, Bernard Losener and Friedrich Knost, commented in *The Laws of Nuremberg* as follows:

The Jewish question in Germany is simply a racial question. How did it come to that, is not at all a matter that needs to go back to. The solution of the problem has already taken its course an indispensable condition to build up the new Reich. According to the will of the Fuhrer, the "laws of Nuremberg"

do not really imply in themselves measures to accentuate the racial hatred and to perpetuate it. On the contrary, it is meant by these measures the beginning of an ease in the relations between the Jewish people and the German people.

Had the Jews already had their own state in which they would feel at home, the Jewish question would have been considered as solved for the Jews as well as for the Germans.

It is because of this reason that the most radical of Zionists have not raised the slightest opposition against the spirit of the Laws of Nuremberg. They pertinently know that these laws represent the only genuine solution, and they know as well that the German people, after being aware of themselves, have adopted these laws which the Jewish people have been adopting since thousands of years (see the Book of Ezra). These are the laws which, to the astonishment of all, have made of the Jews a powerful people, and which allowed them to preserve their blood pure without mixture, despite the fact that their individuals have lived during innumerable generations amidst foreigners. However, it seems to us that the Jew, particularly of pure blood, has a peculiar comprehension of the racial laws. He thinks that no other people should engage themselves in their safety and salvage, for which the Jew feels responsible, and particularly in all that concerns the purity of blood.<sup>67</sup>

Starting from this, one understands the rigor of Israeli laws of marriage, on which depend the "purity of blood." Today, as at the time of Ezra, the tight clerical grasp reinforces racism by giving it a religious "foundation." The legislation about marriage is particularly revealing. A law called "Law of Rabbinical Courts Jurisdiction" stipulates"

Article 1: Matters of marriage and divorce of Jews in Israel, being nationals or residents of the State, shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of rabbinical courts.

Article 2: Marriages and divorces of Jews shall be performed in accordance with the Jewish religious law.

There is thus no civil marriage for Jews in Israel. To give just one example of the consequences this entails, a Jew whose name is

Cohen has not the right to marry a divorced woman (because the Cohens, being descendants of Moses' brother Aaron, performed priestly functions in the Temple). This rabbinical prohibition cannot be avoided except by a complicated procedure and the decision of the Israeli Supreme Court.<sup>68</sup>

Another example, a childless widow cannot marry again unless her brother-in-law agrees to marry her or is granted; "chalitza" by the rabbinical court, which releases him from this duty.

A second consequence is underlined by Klein. "In practice, the significance of this law is clear: *it is legally impossible for a Jewish person to marry a non-Jewish person in Israel.*"<sup>69</sup>

Racism and theocracy are inextricably bound together on a fundamental point, namely, the very definition of a "Jew." The definition by the *Religion* led the Knesset to refuse a Catholic priest of Jewish origin, Daniel Rufeison, the automatic right of nationality as stated in the Law of Return of 1952.

The definition according to the *ethnic* doctrine conduced to more serious contradictions. In January 1970, a marine officer, Benjamin Shalit, an atheist Jew, asked that his child born from his non-Jewish Scottish wife, be granted the Jewish nationality. The Supreme Court, five against four, granted him his demand (See: *Jerusalem Post*, January 25, 1970: Who Is a Jew?). The religious parties then threatened to get out of the coalition if the law was not revised in accordance with the "Halakah." The Israeli Parliament revised the law, granting Israeli nationality to those immigrants with at least one Jewish grandfather, and "Jewish" nationality to those who may be so authorized, pursuant to traditional Judaic interpretation. Owing to this discrimination, which resulted from the compromise, a second child born to Benjamin Shalit from the same non-Jewish mother became an Israeli but not a Jew.

In January 1972, a Professor Tamarin demanded to designate his nationality by the term "Israeli" instead of "Jew" (to which he was entitled), so as to denounce the ethnic discrimination of the state. The Supreme Court rejected his request, and Professor Tamarin was obliged to abandon his chair in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The grounds of the Supreme Court are indicative.

An Israeli nation separated from the Jewish people does not

exist, and the Jewish people do not only comprise the persons residing in Israel, but also the Jews residing in the countries of exile.<sup>70</sup>

One of the most dramatic consequences of this concept according to which all the Jews of the world are by law accepted in Israel, is that if Zionism reaches its goals (as defined by Ben Gurion), and the 13 million Jews came to establish themselves in Israel, the struggle for the "vital space" will be much worse. The problem was clearly discussed, even before the existence of the state of Israel. The head of the Jewish National Fund responsible for acquiring land in Palestine, Joseph Weitz, wrote in 1940:

Between ourselves, it must be clear that there is no room for both people together in this country... The only solution is Eretz Israel, at least Western Israel, without Arabs, and there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries: to transfer them all not one village, not one tribe should be left... It must be explained to Roosevelt and to all the heads of friendly countries that the land of Israel is not very small if all the Arabs go out, and if the frontiers are slightly shifted to the North towards the Litani River, and to the East on the Golan Heights.<sup>71</sup>

In, the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharnot*, on July 14, 1972, Yoram Bar Porath forcefully recalled the objective to be realized. He wrote:

It is the duty of the Israeli leaders to clearly and courageously explain to the public opinion a certain number of facts which have been forgotten by time. The first of them is the fact that there is no Zionism, no colonization and no Jewish State without the eviction of Arabs and the expropriation of their lands.

Here again is the rigorous logic of the Zionist system: how to create a Jewish majority in a country inhabited by a Palestinian Arab autochthonous community? Political Zionism has brought the only solution emanating from its colonialist program: to realize a colony of peopling by chasing out the Palestinians and by intensifying Jewish immigration.

To chase out the Palestinians and to usurp their land was a deliberate and systematic undertaking.<sup>72</sup> The procedures used to dispossess the autochthon of his land are those of the most formidable colonialism, with a racist flavor that was even more marked in the case of Zionism.

From this point of view, it is fitting to distinguish two stages in the Zionist colonialism:

The first stage bore the marks of classical colonialism. It was a matter of exploiting the local labor force. This was the method of Baron Edouard de Rothschild. Just as in Algeria he exploited the cheap labor of the peasants in his vineyards, so, merely widening his field of operations, he exploited in his Palestine vineyards the labor of Arabs other than Algerians.

A turning point came with the arrival of a wave of Russian immigrants, following the defeat of the 1905 revolution. Instead of continuing the fight along side the other Russian revolutionaries, these deserters from the defeated revolution imported into Palestine a curious "Zionist socialism." They set up craftsmen cooperatives and farming "kibbutzim," ousting Palestinian peasants in order to establish an economy based on a Jewish working class. From classical colonialism, as practiced by the British and French, they thus made the transition to a colonialism of settlement, according to the logic of political Zionism, which implied an influx of immigrants "in favor of" whom lands and jobs were to be reserved but "against" no one (as Professor Klein puts it). From there on, the task was to replace the Palestinian people and, naturally, to take over their land.

The point of departure of the grand operation was the setting up in 1901 of the Jewish National Fund, which had this original feature as compared with other colonialism that the land which it acquired could not be re-sold, or even leased, to non-Jews.<sup>73</sup>

The two other laws singled out by Klein relate to the "Kereh Kayemet" (Jewish National Fund: law adopted on November 23, 1953) and to the "Keren Hayesod" (Reconstruction Fund: law adopted on January 10, 1956). "These two laws," writes Professor Klein,<sup>74</sup> "have made possible the transformation of these societies, which have been given a certain number of privileges." Without enumerating these privileges, he mentions, in the form of a mere "observation,"

that the lands possessed by the Jewish National Fund are declared 'Lands of Israel,' and a fundamental law has proclaimed the inalienability of these lands." This is one of the four "fundamental laws" that were given that status in 1960 and which entail the elements of a future constitution, which Israel still does not possess, 45 years after its formation. It is a pity that the learned jurist, with his concern for accuracy, does not provide any commentary on this "inalienability." He does not even define what is meant by: a piece of land "saved" (redemption of the land) by the Jewish National Fund is a piece of land that has become "Jewish," and it will never be sold or leased to a "non Jew" or cultivated by one.

Can anybody deny the racist discrimination inherent in this fundamental law? The agrarian policy was one of systematic robbery of the Arab peasants. The Land Ordinance of 1943, on expropriation in the public interest, was inherited from the period of the British mandate. This law, legitimate in itself, is abused when applied in a discriminatory way. For example, in 1962, 500 hectares were expropriated at Deir El-Adad, Nabel and Be'neh; the "public interest" in this case consisting of the creation of the town of Carmiel, reserved exclusively for Jews.

Another procedure was to use the Emergency Laws decreed by the British in 1945 for application against both Jews and Arabs. Law No.124 gives the military governor on the pretext, this time, of "security" power to suspend all the right of citizens, including their freedom of movement. It is enough for the army to declare a certain area a prohibited area, "for reasons of state security," for an Arab to find himself unable to go to his own fields without the military governor's permission. If this permission is denied, the fields in question are declared to be uncultivated, and the Ministry of Agriculture can "take possession of uncultivated land in order to ensure its cultivation."

When, in 1945, the British promulgated this harsh colonialist legislation, as part of their struggle against Jewish terrorism, the jurist Bernard (Dov) Joseph, protesting against this system of *lettres de cachet*, said: "Are we all to become the victims of officially inspired terrorism?... There is nothing to prevent a citizen from being imprisoned all his life without trial... The powers of the administration

to exile anybody at any time are unlimited... There is no need for anyone to commit any offense, a decision taken in some office is enough." Bernard (Dov) Joseph, when he became Minister of Justice in Israel, was to enforce these same laws against the Arabs.

J. Shapiro spoke out more firmly still against these laws, at the same protest meeting in Tel Aviv on February 7, 1966 (reported in *Hapraklit*, February 1946, pp. 58-64): "The system established in Palestine since the issue of the Defense Laws is unparalleled in any civilized country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany." J. Shapiro, having become Israel's Public Prosecutor and later Minister of Justice, was to enforce these same laws against the Arabs. To justify the retention of these terror laws, the state of emergency has never been terminated in Israel since 1948.

Shimon Perez wrote in on January 25, 1972: "The use of law 125, on which the military government is based, is in direct continuation of the struggle for Jewish settlement and Jewish immigration.

The ordinance concerning fallow land, issued in 1948 and amended in 1949, leads in the same direction, but by a less roundabout route. Without even looking for the pretext of "public interest" or "military security," the Minister of Agriculture can [order the] requisition [of] any land that has been abandoned. The exodus of Arab inhabitants as a result of terror in the style of Deir Yasin in 1948, of Kafr Kasem on October 29, 1956, or of the pogroms by "Unit 101," created by Moshe Dayan and commanded for a long time by Ariel Sharon, "liberated" extensive territories which, having been emptied of their Arab owners or workers, were given to Jewish settlers.

The mechanism for the dispossession of the peasantry was completed by the ordinance of June 30, 1948, the emergency regulation of November 15, 1948, on the property of "absentees," the law concerning the land of "absentees" (March 14, 1950), the law on the acquisition of land (March 13, 1953), and an arsenal of measures tending to legalize robbery by forcing the Arabs to leave their land so that Jewish settlements could be installed there as is shown by Nathan Weinstock in *Le Sionisme contre Israel*.

So as to wipe out even the memory of the Palestinian farming population and give credibility to the myth of "the desert," the Arab

villages were destroyed, with their houses, their enclosures, even their cemeteries and graves. In 1975 Professor Israel Shahak gave a district-by-district list of 385 Arab villages that had been bulldozed, out of the total of 475 that existed in 1948.

Israeli settlements continue to be established on the West Bank, having received a boost since 1979 in the classical colonialist tradition, the new settlers are armed.

The result of all this is that, after the expulsion of a million and a half Palestinians, "Jewish land," as the officials of the Jewish National Fund call it, which made up only 6.5 percent of the total in 1947, covers today more than 93 percent of Palestine (75 percent belonging to the state and 14 percent to the Jewish National Fund).

Since this is the colonialist and racist policy of political Zionism where personal status and land ownership are concerned, it is easy to appreciate what is meant by the "autonomy" of which Begin speaks. What is meant, in fact, is continued pursuit of the annexationist policy of Zionist colonialism...

Here are the principal arrangements included in this caricature of autonomy. On May 3, 1979, Begin put his plan for administrative autonomy before the committee of eleven ministers. On May 17 the committee approved it, and on May 21, the government confirmed the plan. This plan consists of a list of principles which consecrate the annexationist and expansionist policy of the Zionist entity. It states that, after the transition period of five years provided for the introduction of administrative autonomy, Israel will assert its alleged "right of sovereignty" over the West Bank and The Gaza Strip. "The Jewish settlements and the Jewish inhabitants will be subject to Israeli law and Israeli administration." The "right" to continue settlement in "the district placed under the autonomous regime will be safeguarded: the government-owned lands and the uncultivated lands"<sup>76</sup> will be held by the occupying power. Its armed forces "will be stationed at certain points in the districts placed under the autonomous regime," and its security forces "will take responsibility for internal security" in the occupied territory. As for the administrative council, the government's plan provides that "the military government will delegate its powers to the autonomous authority. There will be



negotiations as to the number of members of the administrative council, the government's plan provides that "the military government will delegate its powers to the autonomous authority. There will be: negotiations as to the number of members of the administrative council to be elected and the number of dependents to be attached to it." An appendix to the plan notes that the Zionist leaders will never allow a Palestinian state to be created on the West Bank and in Gaza.<sup>77</sup>

The government decided unanimously that the plan, entitled "Principles for complete administrative autonomy of the Arab inhabitants of Judaea and Samaria and of Gaza and for the presence of Jewish settlers in these areas," would be the platform of the Israeli delegation in the negotiations on autonomy. For tactical reasons it would not be presented to Egypt during negotiations.<sup>78</sup>

The recommendations made by the committee for the application of this plan were revealed by the newspaper *Ha'aretz*. Complementary to the ones put forward on February 9, they showed that additional restrictions were to be imposed on the autonomous authority.

These restrictions begin with the procedure to be followed when the administrative council is elected. No one who has been sentenced for opposing the occupation is eligible. The candidates offer themselves on a list of individuals and without indicating the constituency for which they wish to represent. On the economic plan, "the autonomous administration will not be authorized to issue currency, to set up a central bank or to levy indirect taxes. It will have no power to control imports or exports or the circulation of money." As regards internal security, "political detainees will be held in prisons subject to Israeli law, and the government of Israel will be empowered to veto any amnesty."

The seizure of land is to be intensified: "717,000 dunams"<sup>79</sup> will be "enclosed" for the establishment of military training areas and camps. Land will also be needed for the building of roads. "More than ten motorways" will be built on the West Bank and one in the Gaza Strip, in addition to a motorway destined to bypass the chief towns. "The communications network in the territories will be under the supervision of the Israeli ministry of Transport." The occupying

power "will supply water to the Gaza Strip and will reserve the right to plan the exploitation of the water resources of the West Bank."

One more recommendation by the committee: "The settlers will constitute a local police force and carry arms whenever on the move."<sup>80</sup>

The significance of this operation was excellently summed up in advance by the South African newspaper *Die Transvaler*, an expert in the matter of racial discrimination (apartheid): "Is there any real difference between the way that the people of Israel are trying to maintain themselves amid non-Jewish peoples and the way the Afrikaner is trying to remain what he is?"<sup>81</sup>

"Apartheid" is as much evident in personal status. as in the appropriation of land. The "autonomy" which the Israelis want to offer as a gift to the Palestinians is the equivalent of "Bantustan" offered to the blacks in South Africa.

Analyzing the consequences of such a law, Klein puts the question: "While the Jewish people greatly exceed in numbers the population of the State of Israel, conversely one can say that the population of the State of Israel is not entirely Jewish, since the country includes an important non-Jewish minority, mainly Arab and Druze. The question that arises is: to what extent can the existence of a law like the Law of Return, which favors immigration by one part of the population (defined by its membership of a certain religious and ethnic community), be regarded as being discriminatory?"<sup>82</sup>

The author asks in particular whether the international convention for eliminating all forms of racial discrimination (adopted on December 21, 1965, by the General Assembly of the United Nations) applied to the Law of Return. Using a dialectic which we leave the reader to judge, the eminent jurist concludes with this subtle distinction. Where nondiscrimination is concerned, "a measure must not be directed 'against' any particular group. The Law of Return was adopted in favor of Jews who want to settle in Israel: it is not directed 'against' any group or nationality. One cannot see how such a law can be considered discriminatory."<sup>83</sup>

This logic, which can only be called audacious, amounts to saying, as a famous witticism has it, that all citizens are equal but some are more equal than others. Let us give a concrete illustration of

the situation created by the Law of Return. For those who do not benefit under that law, there is a Law on Nationality (5712-1952). It concerns (Article 3) "every individual who, immediately before the foundation of the state, was a Palestinian subject and who has not become an Israeli by virtue of Article 2" (the one that concerns the Jews). The persons referred to by this periphrasis (who are regarded as "never having possessed a nationality previously," that is, as being stateless by heredity) must "prove" that they inhabited the country at such-and-such a period; documentary proof being very often impossible because the relevant papers disappeared during the wars and the chaos that accompanied the establishment of the Zionist state. If this is not possible, to become a citizen of Israel, non-Jews must take the path of "naturalization," which requires, for example, "a certain knowledge of the Hebrew language." After that, "if he considers it useful," the Minister of the Interior will grant or refuse Israeli nationality to the applicants. In short, under Israeli law, a Jew from Patagonia becomes an Israeli citizen at the moment he sets foot on Tel-Aviv airport, whereas a Palestinian, born in Palestine of Palestinian parents, may be treated as stateless. What we have here is not racial discrimination against the Palestinians but merely a measure in "favor" of the Jews!

It would seem difficult to contest the Resolution of the UNO General Assembly of November 10, 1975 (Resolution 3379-XXX), which defines Zionism as a "form of racism and racial discrimination."

### III

#### **THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE ZIONIST STATE THE INTERNAL LOGIC OF THE ZIONIST POLITICS:**

##### **EXPANSION WITHOUT LIMIT**

##### **Its Role in the Politics of "Blocks"**

A foreign policy of expansion and aggression as well as its racist policy, flows from the fundamental principles of Zionism.

The expulsion, the spoliation, and the massacre of the Palestinian population so as to replace it by an exterior population raised not only the anger of the Palestinians, who had lived there for

4,000 years, but also the defiance of the whole Arab world before this colonialist venture.

Since the birth of the Zionist state of Israel, the Middle East has been set on fire and tainted with blood in five wars: in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982.

Here again it is appropriate to refer to the first formula of Herzl, which was derived from the biblical "promise"! "From the Euphrates to the river of Egypt." This does not mean Palestine only, but includes Jordan, the south of Lebanon, a part of Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia.

The taking of Jerusalem in Jordan, the Golan in Syria, the south of Lebanon attests that the menace is not illusory.

The state of Israel is the only state which was admitted to the United Nations conditionally. On May 11, 1949, it agreed to the following conditions so as to get official recognition:

1. Not to change the status of Jerusalem.
2. To allow the Palestinian Arabs to return to their homes.
3. To respect the boundaries fixed in the Resolution of Partition.

However, for the Zionist state, since its creation, all the resolutions of the United Nations, as well as all treaties, are scraps of paper.

Ben Gurion, speaking of the United Nations Resolution on partition, declared, "The State of Israel considers the United Nations Resolution of November 29, 1947 null and void."<sup>84</sup>

The evolution of Zionism took place in two stages:

1. Before the Second World War, Zionism progressed by serving the vested interests of different colonial powers. According to Herzl's tactics, "We shall be in Asia the advanced bastion of the West."
2. After the Second World War, Israel progressed by acting as the most powerful instrument of imperialism on behalf of the United States, for which it watches not only over the Suez Canal, but as Sharon says—over the Dardanelles and the whole of the Gulf, thanks to its exceptional strategic situation.

This world strategic role <sup>85</sup> explains why Israel can impudently

declare its vision of expansion without limitation under the biblical guise.

Yet, it is with the myth of the "Greater Israel" and by means of selective reading of the Bible that the Israeli leaders continually "justify" their expansionist policy, the aggressions and annexations they carry out.

"If you have the Book of the Bible," said Moshe Dayan in August 1967, "and the People of the Book, then you also have the Land of the Bible of the Judges and of the Patriarchs in Jerusalem, Hebron, Jericho and thereabouts." On the basis of such principles, frontiers become elastic: "Take the American Declaration of independence, for instance. It contains no mention of territorial limits. We are not obliged to state the limits of our state."<sup>86</sup> Ben Gurion's citing of the American precedent is highly significant, for there, indeed, the frontier kept moving westward for a whole century until it reached the Pacific, in a process of harassment of the native Indian population in order to drive them away from lands the newcomers wanted.

Ben Gurion said, very plainly: "to maintain the status quo will not do. We have set up a dynamic state, bent upon creation and reform, building and expansion."

Political practice corresponds to this remarkable theory: land is seized and its inhabitants expelled. The U.N. resolution on the partition of Palestine was never respected by the Israeli leaders. As we have seen, between the partition resolution of November 29, 1947, and the end of the British mandate, Zionist commandos seized areas assigned to the Arabs, such as Jaffa and Acre. When the Arab states tried to intervene, to protect the Palestinians from massacres like that at Deir Yasin (April 9, 1948), this became a pretext for the leaders of the Zionist state to annex more territory. Although they had been assigned 56 percent of the area of Palestine by the U.N., they held 80 percent of it at the end of the first Israel-Arab war.

The legend of the little Israeli David confronting the Arab Goliath, is used both to arouse pity for this "little nation" whose security is threatened, and to exalt its military powers.

Leaving aside the present situation, when the Israeli Army possesses war material which is infinitely superior, in both quantity

and quality, to that of all the Arabs states put together, in 1948 the combined forces of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq amounted to fewer than 22,000 men, as against the 65,000 soldiers of Israel.

But that first thrust seemed sufficient to the Israeli leaders. The *New York Times* published on March 9, 1964, an interview with Ben Gurion, by then in retirement. "Israeli territory might have been greater if General Moshe Dayan had been chief of staff during the war of 1948." General Allon, who held important commands during that war, said:

When the Prime Minister and Defense Minister (Ben Gurion, on whom President Truman had brought strong pressure to bear) ordered a halt in our army's advance, we had been on the crest of victory on all vital fronts, from the Litani in the north to the Sinai desert in the southwest. A few more days of fighting would have enabled us... to liberate the entire country.

That task was merely postponed. When President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, the Zionist leaders of Israel saw this as the opportunity for fresh territorial expansion by allying themselves with the British, who were concerned about the Canal, and the French, who, being engaged in war in Algeria, hoped to be able to hit at the leaders of the Algerian struggle and their allies in Egypt. The operation was arranged in France by Moshe Dayan and Shimon Perez, with General Challe (later one of the leaders of the "generals' plot" in Algiers) and the French government.<sup>87</sup>

The firm check imposed by the Americans and the Soviets put a stop to that expedition, But the "grand design" remained the same. Menachem Begin had written: "Eretz Israel will be restored to the people of Israel. All of it. And forever."<sup>88</sup>

In 1967 the Israeli leaders decided to make another leap forward. War was their way of solving their problems: in 1967 there were 96,000 unemployed in Israel, out of an active population of 950,000. Emigration was exceeding immigration, with about 10,000 citizens leaving Israel in that year. The influx of funds from collections in the Diaspora (especially in the United States) was at its lowest level ever. A victorious war would enable all these problems to be solved at one blow: mobilization and occupation of new territory would liquidate unemployment, clamor about the threat to Israel's

"security" would stimulate the collection of money abroad, and military triumph would restore confidence to potential immigrants.

The idea of a "preventative war" was inherent in the logic of the Zionist system. On October 12, 1955, Begin declared in the Knesset: "I deeply believe in launching preventive war against the Arab States without further hesitation. By doing so, we will achieve two targets: firstly, the annihilation of Arab power; and secondly, the expansion of our territory."

The "preventive war" of 1967, the "Six Days' War," began in similar fashion to that of the Japanese Fascists when, on December 7, 1941, without any declaration of war, they surprised and destroyed America's Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor. On June 5, 1967, without any declaration of war, the Israeli squadrons destroyed the Egyptian air force on the ground.

On June 12, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol said in the Knesset that "the very existence of the State of Israel hung upon a thread, but the Arab leaders' hopes of annihilating Israel have been confounded."

No Israeli leader could really believe in this lie intended for the naive, both inside and outside the country. A former minister, Mordechai Ben-Tov announced: "The entire story of the danger of extermination was invented in every detail and exaggerated 'a posteriori,' to justify the annexation of new Arab territory."<sup>89</sup> This was confirmed by General Ezer Weizmann: "There was never a danger of extermination,"<sup>90</sup> and by General Mattiyahu Peled: "The thesis according to which the danger of genocide hung over us in June 1967 and according to which Israel was fighting for her very physical survival was nothing but a bluff, which was born and bred after the war."<sup>91</sup> Even General Rabin wrote: "I do not believe that Nasser wanted war. The two divisions which he sent into Sinai on June 14 would not have been enough to unleash an offensive against Israel. He knew it and we knew it."<sup>92</sup>

Aggression and mendacity enabled Israel to occupy Sinai. Mendacity, because the official representation of the Zionist state had continually asserted that they sought no new annexations.

"Israel covets no territory of any of its neighbors," said Israel's U.N. representative, Michael Comay, on November 8, 1966 (Document A/SPC, PV 505); "We have no invasion aims," said

Moshe Dayan in a broadcast on June 5, 1967. We need only compare these statements with those of General Hod, commander of the Israeli Air Force: "Sixteen years' planning had gone into those initial eighty minutes [he meant the attack on June 5, 1967]. We lived with the plan, we slept on the plan, we ate of the plan. Constantly we perfected it."<sup>93</sup>

The crime paid off. After 1967 the Zionists occupied a territory three times as big as that which had been assigned to them by the partition of 1947. But the appetite for further conquests was already reappearing.

In July 1968 Moshe Dayan declared:

During the last hundred years our people have been in a process of building up the country and the nation, of expansion, of getting additional Jews and additional settlements in order to expand the borders here. Let no Jew say that the process has ended. Let no Jew say that we are near the end of the road.<sup>94</sup> That is not the end, after the actual cease-fire lines, there will be new ones. They will extend from there, from Jordan, perhaps to Lebanon, and perhaps to Syria also.<sup>95</sup>

In 1972 Golda Meir was asked in an interview: "What territory do you consider necessary for Israel's security?" She replied:

If you mean that we should draw a line, that we haven't done, we will do that when we get to it. But one of the basic articles in Israel's policy is that the borders of June 4, 1967 cannot be re-established in the peace agreement. There must be changes in the border. We want changes in borders, on all our borders, for security's sake.<sup>96</sup>

After the check suffered in 1973, Israel pressed on unwaveringly with its colonial policy, especially following the Camp David agreements of September 1978 (the Egyptian "Munich"), which made possible the multiplying of settlements in the occupied territories, the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and, in 1982, the invasion of Lebanon.

What makes the aggression against Lebanon in the summer of 1982 so important is neither exceptionality nor unexpectedness. This operation had been in preparation for many years. It was in the logic



of the struggle of Israeli colonialism and fascism for "Lebensraum." What is new is that, for the first time, a good number of Jews in the world, and some in Israel itself, together with millions of other people in the West, have begun to be aware of the deception of which they have been victims for more than a third of a century. It is sad that to see through the myths which blinded them and to perceive the true colonialist, racist, and increasingly fascist visage of political Zionism and the actual practice of the state of Israel, the massacre of tens of thousands of men, women, and children had to take place.

The lying became so flagrant that it was difficult not to glimpse the horrible reality, despite all the camouflage and toning down attempted by the media. The war of Lebanon clarifies this fundamental fact: every war ventured by the state of Israel, since its creation, is registered in the "internal logic" of the Zionist doctrine. None of these wars was caused by "the response to an exterior menace" by the "young Israeli David" against "Goliath, the Arab." We shall see that when studying the relations between the military forces.

The first pretext invoked for the aggression against Lebanon was the attack on the Israeli ambassador in London, which was at once put down to the PLO. Margret Thatcher publicly revealed, after the criminals had been arrested in the police inquiry carried out, that a "hit list" including the name of the PLO representative in London had been found on the men arrested after the shooting of the Israeli ambassador. If the head of the PLO office was among the targets, then the attackers would presumably not have enjoyed broad Palestinian support, as Israel had asserted.

"I do not believe it was in retaliation," Mrs. Thatcher said in a BBC interview. "They may have made the attack on Ambassador Argov the occasion of the new hostilities in the Middle East, but I do not believe it was the cause."<sup>97</sup>

This denial of Israeli propaganda passed almost unnoticed in France, although it actually destroyed the legend of the "legitimate defense" which had been used as a pretext to renewed aggression.

The Israeli government then baptized the war "Operation Peace in Galilee," invoking the pretended violation of cease-fire by the Palestinians. The *Washington Post* correspondent in Tel Aviv, Jonathan Randal, was categoric:

"The Israeli Embassy in Washington came up with a list of 32 pretended specified violations. However, a thorough examination of the document revealed that all of them have taken place in the frontier zone of Major Haddad rebaptized 'Free Lebanon.' The first Israeli violation of the cease-fire on April 21, during which Israeli military planes killed twenty persons and wounded more than sixty, was ordered as a measure of retaliation for the death of an officer who had gone over a mine with his jeep, while he was in a territory outside of the bounds of that of Haddad.

The territory is nominally under the control of the UNO. From the theoretical point of view at least, no Israeli has anything to do there, or even in Haddad's area. The PLO did not react. But for sure, on May 9, from the pocket it occupied near Tyre, and by the help of its leftist Lebanese allies, thirty rounds were shot in the direction of Israel. However, this did not happen until after the Israeli planes had ferociously bombarded Damour and Zahrani on an early afternoon without apparent reason. Washington, by that time, had known the basis of the Israeli exaggerations so well that it bluntly advised its embassy in Beirut that it was useless to continue sending insistent messages to establish the truth."<sup>98</sup>

On June 6, 1982, after two days of intensive bombardment of South Lebanon, the Israeli government announced that its objective in the "Operation Peace in Galilee" was to hem in a demilitarized zone of 40 kilometers in depth (about one third of the Lebanese territory) in order to protect the front zone of northern Israel. To understand that the invasion of Lebanon had nothing to do with the attempt on the life of the Israeli ambassador in London, or with any threat to Galilee, it is enough to put the Lebanese objective in the perspective of the Zionist project of "Great Israel." At a time when no Israeli diplomat was attacked, when PLO did not exist, and when no "terrorism" whatever threatened Galilee, the invasion of Lebanon was planned as an item on the calendar of Zionist annexations. Ben Gurion had written in his Diaries on May 21, 1948:

The Achilles heel of the Arab coalition in Lebanon. Muslim supremacy in this country is artificial and can easily be overthrown. A Christian state ought to be set up there, with its southern frontier on the Litani River. We would sign a treaty of

alliance with this state. Then, when we have broken the strength of the Arab Lesion and bombed Amman, we would wipe out Transjordan; after that, Syria would fall. And if Egypt still dared to make war on us, we would bomb Port Said, Alexandria and Cairo. We should thus end the war, and would have avenged our ancestors from Egypt, Assyria, and Chaldea.<sup>99</sup>

Since the formation of the Begin government (August 1981), the new Minister of War, Ariel Sharon, had defined his objectives, irrespective of the "Peace in Galilee." He had written in 1974:

We have to hit, and to hit without stopping. We have to hit the terrorist everywhere: in Israel, in the Arab countries and beyond. I know how to do it: I have done it myself. We should not act only after their operations, but every day and everywhere. If we know that some [terrorists] are in some Arab countries or in Europe, we have to wait for them there... not in daylight... suddenly somebody disappears... or is found dead... elsewhere somebody is stabbed in a European night-club.<sup>100</sup>

As a Minister of Defense, he had the means to carry out this policy.

There are two concurring unchallengeable witnesses: the Israeli journalist Jonathan Randal and the French Ambassador in Beirut during the Lebanon war; Paul-Marc Henry. Both show the futility of the "Peace in Galilee" pretext and of the "Forty Kilometers" objective. Randal wrote:

Hardly a few months after occupying his ministerial post, Sharon publicly defended the idea that the Israeli military zone of influence in the eighties should extend far beyond the Arab world "to include Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and to extend to Central and Northern Africa." He loudly voiced that Israel was "the fourth military power in the world." As many others before him, in a similar situation, Sharon was in favor of an offensive policy, preferring to have his battles on the enemy's land. His objectives, in view of securing for Israel a hegemony over all the Middle East, were clearly delimited. He intended to crush the PLO as a military and a political force in Lebanon, to annex the Western Bank of Jordan and the Gaza strip territories occupied by his country and dethrone King Hussein in order to

give Jordan to the Palestinians who are actually constituting about two-thirds of Jordan's population. After this, he intended to destabilize Syria and Iraq and to inspire unto the conservative pro-American Gulf Emirates a mixture of terror and gratitude for delivering them from what the Israelis considered as "false allegations" by the PLO and for protecting them against the encroachments of Iran.

This "Pax Hebrica" took into consideration the old dream of annihilating the domination of the Sunni Muslims over the Middle East, or else he would create everywhere states well disposed to and dependent on Israel, governed by minority governments, and, in all cases, would encourage their [minorities] aspirations.<sup>101</sup>

Ambassador Henry clearly shows how this "Operation" fitted in with early premeditated projects of American leaders concerning the Middle East, and Lebanon in particular. These projects were naturally agreed upon by the Zionists.

The Kissinger Plan precisely viewed the solution to the Middle East crisis in a total redistribution of territorial maps, which meant, in fact, complete questioning of the great rules and regulations set up since the first World War and rightly confirmed in 1945. This idea was to legitimize and definitely establish, within boundaries recognized by all, the State of Israel which would then be encircled by independent mini-States of ethnic or religious character. Within this perspective which was desired by many militant Zionists, including General Sharon and Menahem Begin, the Palestinians would definitely be settled in the South of Lebanon under the direct and indirect control of Israel, blocked from the north by a small Lebanon with Maronite domination in strong alliance with Druze mini-state. As for the Alawite power in Syria and the north of Lebanon, it would be confirmed and consolidated in an autonomous state in federation with a Syria which would restore its historical frontiers, the Golan being the price for this major concession<sup>102</sup>

The aggression against Lebanon by Begin, Sharon, et al. is no more than a chapter in the history of projects aiming at disabling all the Middle East countries through a prolonged process of Balkanization in the region, undertaken by the English-French

colonialists, relayed by the United States and Zionist nationalism and colonialism, which perfectly fits in this plan.

When studying in 1981 the preparation for the 1982 war, Ambassador Henry observed that the Israeli managing team "was formed in the school of permanent war. Its conviction is that the security of Israel cannot be found in a guarantee given by the international community, but only in the realization of great Israel protected by a security zone in the South as well as in the East and North."

The year 1981, despite the truces obtained by Philip Habib, in the last analysis was nothing but a long preparation for the open war of 1982. The helicopter-landing near Nabatieh, the Israeli raids on the Palestinian camps in South Lebanon, then in the southern suburb of Beirut, the bombardments of the position of Arab Forces the Intervention in the Bekaa, and finally the missile crisis which marked the direct confrontation between Syria and Israel regarding Lebanon— all these actions culminated in the devastating air attacks of 16 and 17 July 1981. Five strategic bridges connecting south Lebanon with the North were destroyed, West Beirut and its populous quarters were bombarded. <sup>103</sup>

The premeditation and this internal logic of Zionism has been confirmed by a third witness, Shimon Shiffer, an Israeli journalist whose book appeared first in Hebrew in Israel, raising numerous rumors, but none of his revealed statements were denied. He wrote:

The war of Lebanon was inevitable. It was profoundly inscribed in the fundamental principles of its planners: Menahem Begin, Ariel Sharon and Raphael Eytan. It issued from the events of the region that took place since the Camp David Agreements between Israel and Egypt.

The attitude of Begin was the result of a fixed idea... that of a preventive war to annihilate the PLO in Lebanon. "No more war of attrition" as followed by his predecessor. He justified his opinion thus: During the summer of 1981, Israel had destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor and nothing happened, despite the pessimistic expectations which forecast a strong international reaction.

Sharon and Eytan, who have efficiently utilized force, applied on the spot the fundamental principles of Begin, the principles

which the two shared with him.<sup>104</sup>

The pretext of "protecting the Christians" threatened by a "massacre" was not less fallacious. Randal has witnessed massacres organized by the Phalangists, especially since 1975-76.

Malicious Christians have killed hundreds of civilians, Kurds, Lebanese belonging to the Shi'ite Muslim sect, and Palestinians, mostly unarmed. This happened in the case of the massacre of Karantina which was perpetrated a few steps from the buildings where the Lebanese Forces used to hold their war councils.

Karantina was also the first Lebanese massacre which I had witnessed. The militia, carrying enormous wooden crosses, drugged by hashish or cocaine, and hoisting helmets taken from Nazi surplus material, killed heartily and with joy".<sup>105</sup>

Since 1975, most of the Lebanese dead have been Muslims and not Christians. In 1982, especially since the Israeli invasion, hardly a handful of Christians lost their lives and even those, died by mere chance while the Operation had left, according to Lebanese estimates, 19,000 Muslim victims, most of them civilians.<sup>106</sup>

All the pretexts and lies invoked to justify the aggression in 1982 were revoked and reality became apparent when it was known that the invasion was prepared thirty years ago.

The proof was given in the diaries of the former prime minister of Israel, Moshe Sharett. These diaries were published in Hebrew in 1970 by the son of Moshe Sharett, in spite of the efforts to stop its publication.

On February 27, 1954, Sharett noted that Ben Gurion, the ex-Prime Minister who recently resigned, Pinhas Lavon; the Minister of Defense, and Moshe Dayan, the Chief of Staff, dreamed of a coup d'état in Syria that would allow them to invade Lebanon. Ben Gurion even felt that if Iraq would invade Syria, which seemed possible, "this would be the time to arouse Lebanon, meaning the Maronites, and to incite them to proclaim a Christian State." Sharett protested:

I said that it was a futile idea. The Maronites are divided among themselves. Those who are in favor of Christian separatism are weak and will be obliged to renounce the region

of Tyre, Tripoli and the Bekaa. No force will be able to regain for Lebanon its dimensions that it had before the First World War, lest it would lose all its economic viability. Ben Gurion was furious. He began by suggesting a historical justification for a "smaller Lebanon" He said: "If a fact is accomplished, the Christian powers would not dare to oppose it." I asserted that there is not one single factor *available* so that such a situation can be created, and if we start causing agitation and upsetting things, we shall find ourselves entangled in an affair that will bring us only shame. At these words, a stream of abuses was set against me, referring to my lack of courage and my political short-sightedness. It was necessary to send some emissaries and to spend some money. "But there is no money," I said. The answer, well thought of, was that that was foolish. Money should be found, and if it was not in the treasury, an appeal to the Jewish Agency should be made for this particular venture. One hundred thousand, five hundred thousand, or one million dollars, or any amount, could be risked provided the plan can be realized. Thus, there will be a definitive redistribution in the Middle East, and a new era will begin. I was exhausted from the fiery discussion.

The same day on which Sharett was writing these lines, Ben Gurion, who retired to the south of Sde Boker in the Kibboutz of Negev, declared that Lebanon "is the Link the most weak in the [Arab] League Chain."

Perhaps, as surely in politics nothing is certain; the time is propitious to see that a Christian state is established on our frontiers. Without our initiative and energetic aid nothing can happen. And it seems to me that this is today the MAIN TASK, or at least one of the main tasks, of our foreign policy and that we have to utilize our means, time, and energy, and to act in every way susceptible to introduce into Lebanon a fundamental change. [Eliahu] Sassoon and all our Arab experts should be mobilized. If we need money, we should not spare our dollars, even if this is lost money. We have to concentrate all our forces for the purpose. It may be necessary to call here Reuven [Shiloah, another Arab expert] only for this purpose. We shall never be pardoned if we miss this historical occasion. There is nothing in this venture that may raise provocation towards the world powers. In fact, we are not in need of acting "indirectly" but, in my view, everything must be done quickly and with all our forces.

Obviously, the objective cannot be attained without shortening the Lebanese frontiers. But if there are some persons in this country or outside it or in exile who can be recruited for the establishment of a Maronite state, there would be no need for enlarged boundaries, nor for a vast Muslim population, and all such considerations would be unimportant.

I don't know whether we have our men in Lebanon, but there are many ways of action if it is decided to undertake the proposed attempt.

On March 18, 1954, Sharett answered Ben Gurion's letter, stressing on his part that "there is neither rhyme nor reason in creating from outside a movement that does not exist inside. One can put life in a body when it already exists. But, as much as I know, there is no movement whatsoever today in Lebanon that tries to make a Christian state from this country where final decisions will be with a Maronite community."

Sharret estimated that in essence the French had taken up their bet of creating a half-Christian half-Muslim functioning state.

The transformation of Lebanon into one Christian state today is out of the question if an outside initiative is found to be involved in the affair. I am bringing up certain reservations to my affirmation when I talk about an "outside initiative," because I do not entirely eliminate the possibility that this could happen in the aftermath of a series of shock-waves which shake the Middle East and cause radical redistributions, throwing the existing schemes in a deep ditch and in a manner that causes a new formation to spring out.

Sharett declared that not only were Christians never in the majority in Lebanon, but that the Greek-Orthodox minority would have nothing to do with a Christian state dominated by the Maronites. The principal Maronite leaders themselves decided that their best trump was to associate themselves with the Muslims. The proposition of Ben Gurion would accordingly be disastrous, as it is susceptible to tearing up, with one stroke, the tissue of cooperation between the Christians and the Muslims within the actual Lebanese setup, a setup woven by means of persistent work and at the price of considerable sacrifices for an entire generation. It would precipitate Lebanese



Muslims into the arms of Syria, and, finally, in the last stage of the process, would bring upon Christian Lebanon the historical catastrophe of annexation to Syria and of the total effacement of its identity within a Muslim Greater Syria.

Sharett wanted to know whether anybody would believe that the zones where Muslims are predominant would accept to dissociate from the rest of the country, whether the Arab League or the West would be content to look at the scene without intervention, and whether "the sanguineous war, which will necessarily break out after such an attempt, would remain confined to Lebanon and would not conduce to the immediate entry of Syria." The Mount of Lebanon has only become viable since its association with the Muslims' zone in 1920. "To go back to the previous situation," Sharett continued "it would not be enough to simply undertake a surgical operation, but there should have to be such crushing of organs that Lebanon would not be able to survive."

However, the Prime Minister was not in disagreement on the ends; he said:

I welcome with pleasure this agitation [in the heart of the Maronite Community] in itself, both for the destabilization it would incur and for the trouble it would create inside the Arab League, for the detraction of attention far from the Israel-Arab conflict which would follow, and for the birth of even a spark of desire for Christian independence that would ensue. But what can be done? The seed does not exist. In such a situation, I am afraid that any attempt to raise the question from our part will be considered as a frivolous and superficial sign and even worse, as a desire that behooves the worst adventurers of fortune seeking to profit from the well-being and livelihood of others, and as a will to sacrifice their fundamental happiness in favor of momentary tactical advantage for our country.

And what is more, if this affair should not remain secret, but be communicated to the public at large, there would be a risk which should be overlooked in the context of the Middle East. It would be a mistake whose cost vis-a-vis the Arab states and the Western powers is incalculable; a mistake whose eventual success resulting from the operation itself will bring us no reward.

The Sharett's reply did not convince Ben Gurion, and could not

dissuade him from pursuing the project of destabilization of Lebanon. One year later, on March 16, 1955, during a meeting of officials of the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense, Ben Gurion, returning to the government in the key post of Minister of Defense, came back to what Sharett called "his old dream!" of intervention in Lebanon. At that time, there was tension between Iraq and Syria, and "the possibility of an Iraqi invasion to Syria" incited Ben Gurion to suggest that both the Druze and the Shi'ites would probably accept to join hands in a venture of destabilization. Sharett, on June 16, 1955, said, for Moshe Dayan. "all that remains is to find an officer, even a simple captain. We have to convince him of our cause, or buy him, so that he would accept declaring himself the savior of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli Army will enter Lebanon, occupy the territory it deems necessary, establish a Christian regime allied with Israel, and everything will go smoothly. The territory in the South of Lebanon shall be entirely annexed to Israel."

Moshe Sharett, on June 28, 1954, said in confirmation, "The Chief of Staff approved the idea of buying a [Lebanese] officer who would accept to serve as figurehead for us in such a manner that the Israeli Army would look as responding to an appeal to liberate Lebanon from its Muslim oppressors. If we listen to the Chief of Staff, we would start on the project from tomorrow without waiting for the slightest sign from Baghdad. But he prefers to be patient and wait till the Iraqi government loses its head and conquers Syria. Ben Gurion did not evidently wait long to underline that his personal plan should not be executed except after the conquest of Syria by Iraq takes place."

Sharett noted. "I did not want to entertain an acrid discussion with Ben Gurion in front of his officers of the Chief of Staff about this project which is as stupendous as imprudent. A project which is limited in its outlook and completely unrealistic is really surprising."

Sharett deplored "the really serious and frightful deficiency" of the military and "their attitude towards the lands of the neighboring countries and especially towards the most complex questions concerning the internal and external situation of Lebanon." He wrote, "I have clearly seen how those who have saved the country by their heroism and their sacrifices during the War of Independence were

capable of provoking a catastrophe if they have a free hand in ordinary times."

Of Ben Gurion, Sharett wrote, "He looks at Lebanon as it was during the time of the Ottoman Empire an independent body whose population was composed in its majority of Christian Maronites. But in the heart of Greater Lebanon, the Maronites have lost since a long time their numerical superiority, the Orthodox gravitate towards the Syrian orbit, the Muslims constitute an increasing majority owing to their high birth rate, the Palestinian refugees reinforce this majority, bring down the Maronites to a minority of one third. The Maronite community has lost all audacity and all incentive. The majority of their leaders are in connivance with Muslims and with the Arab league. All Israeli endeavours to push them in the road of revolution are susceptible to brand them with universal stigma and to subject them to detrimental defeat."

On June 17, 1965, qualifying the chimera project of Moshe Dayan, Moshe Sharett recognized that this plan had started to be applied: "The truth is that we have ties with a certain group" inside Lebanon, "of whom we have made many attempts to test, and, with whom we must particularly establish some contacts inside the [Lebanese] Army."

Also in June 1965, Sharett refused to concur with Moshe Dayan's desire to reject a security pact offered by the United States because "it restricts our liberty of military action." He noted that the Chief of Staff had elaborated a sort of doctrine of "war equals peace," according to the model outlined by George Orwell in his book *1984*. The state "may-nay, must invent some dangers; and to do so, it must adopt the system of provocation followed by vengeance... and above all, hope for a new war with the Arab countries in order to be able at the end to rid ourselves of our problems and acquire new space." That is what Sharett had written in his diaries before adding: "Ben Gurion himself has said that it was worth the while to pay one million dollars to an Arab so that he would begin a war."

Such extracts from the diaries of Sharett are illuminating when read in light of events that have taken place in Lebanon since 1975: civil war has engulfed Lebanon; Israel has put its hands on a reneging Christian officer, Captain (later Colonel) Saad Haddad who actually

carried out the orders in the frontier zone of south Lebanon; Lebanon has suffered the military occupation of Syria and Israel. The Israeli generals have pulled so many strings in Lebanon that they have involved their international reputation as well as their own country.

What Moshe Sharett had foreseen and denounced happened in detail with the complicity of their "collabos" the Phalangists, traitors to their country in the stamp of the Norwegian Quisling or the "*miliciens*" of Laval in France, the politicians and the generals of the state of Israel invaded Lebanon, set it on fire and finally ended with a fiasco.

The "collaboration" of the "Phalangists," so to speak, the Christians (created in 1939 by Pierre Gemayel, the great admirer of Hitler, modeled on the "Phalangists" of General Franco), with all the successive Israeli governments was publicly revealed at the Knesset during the sordid electoral campaigns of 1981 when Shimon Perez and Menahem Begin opposed each other.

Public opinion in Israel as well as in Lebanon could thence know the stages of this collaboration, which found its gruesome crowning in the pogroms of Sabra and Shatila in September 1982.

On April 13, 1975, immediately after the massacre of civilian Palestinians by the Phalangists, the first contacts between the assassins and the Israeli leaders took place in the Israeli Embassy in Paris (Rabelais Str.).<sup>107</sup>

The butchers, armed by Israelis, were able to operate on a larger scale. By encircling the Palestinian Camp at Tel el-Zaatar, they obtained from Benjamin Ben Eliezer the confirmation that the Israeli government would supply the necessary arms for their butchery.

The whole operation was revealed in detail in the Knesset when Ariel Sharon, responding to the attacks of Shimon Perez and the Laborites regarding his responsibility in the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, revealed the role played by the Laborites in August 1976 (especially Shimon Perez who was then Minister of Defense) at Tal el-Zaatar.

In course of a stormy session of the Knesset called to discuss the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, Sharon accused the leaders of the opposition Labor Party of having been involved in the massacre at Tal el-Zaatar when the Christian Militia executed some 3,000 Palestinians

during the Civil War of 1976. The Knesett was in complete confusion; even the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Ministers were shocked by the remarks and manners of Sharon. The matter was entrusted to the Israeli Security Council.

During the meeting, Sharon read extracts from documents circulated by the Information Service in mid-August 1976, concerning the events of Tal el-Zaatar. Two journalists who managed to enter the field reported that they had seen the bodies of about sixty children, women, and old people with open abdomens. The Red cross stated that 3,000 persons were executed at Tal el-Zaatar. On August 12, after two months of siege, the camp had fallen in the hands of the Christians. According to Sharon, the Red Cross affirmed that, during the massacre, Israeli ships interdicted any medical assistance on its way to Lebanon by sea. All this was published in the international press. Turning to the leader of the Labor Party, Shimon Perez, Sharon said, " we are not simply digging in the archives, but in our relations with the Phalangists during these last years. You have had the first contacts with them, and we have followed. We submitted, you and I, to the same moral principles, and this is what I wanted to prove by documents dated to your epoch. You have helped the Christians even after this massacre. Such is the relation that unites from one part Tal el-Zaatar and from another part Sabra and Shatila."<sup>108</sup>

In August 1976, the former Christian president of Lebanon, Camille Shamoun, met with Rabin on-board a military Israeli ship anchored in Jounieh.

At the end of 1979, hundreds of Phalangists were training in Israel.

On December 17, 1979, Camille Shamoun and Bashir Gemayel paid a visit to Begin at Talbieh. "That evening we did not deal only in-military problems... [but] also in the Israeli contribution towards the propagation of the Phalangists' ideas all over the world... The Israelis have even engaged the services of David Garth, the famous American expert in public relations. Bashir Gemayel and David Kimche have already met Garth in Europe where they were holding a meeting to constitute in the United States a Lobby in favor of the Christian Lebanese. Israel has as well gathered a certain number of political groups in France to support them."<sup>109</sup>

So, cheating the Christians and the Socialists was an objective of priority for the Israelis and their Phalangist collaborators.

Sharon passed two days and one night in East Beirut with the Christian Militia to prepare for the invasion. In mid-February the operation was one of the secrets of the buffoons of the Lebanese capital, as Israel resumed its delivery of arms and ammunitions to the Christians. This has taken place at Tabarja, a chosen spot in a small creek nicknamed "Israeli Embassy."

On June 12, 1982, Bashir Gemayel received Sharon in Beirut who advised him of his plans: "Beirut will be encircled [we are 'far from the assassination attempt of London and of "Peace in Galilee": R.G.] and you can begin delivering the city from the terrorists and their collaborators."<sup>110</sup> Elie Houbeika, who lead the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, participated in this meeting.

In conformity with an agreement concluded in a meeting with the Prime Minister, Gemayel, and Eytan continued to plan for the invasion of Wes-Beirut. The Chief of Staff told Bashir that Tsahal would supply the Phalangists with all help they might need in matters concerning air and artillery, "as if they were Israeli regular units." Gemayel, accordingly, asked Eytan for five trucks of "Rio" type, other vehicles, and communications material. The Chief of Staff acceded to his demand, but Israel did not try to get paid for it. "We shall make the accounts after the war," said Eytan.<sup>111</sup>

On August 21, 1982 (two days before the election of Bashir Gemayel), Ariel Sharon went to Beirut to meet Pierre and Bashir Gemayel and to assign them their role: "You have to clean the Refugee Camps in Beirut in order to build our bilateral relations on respect and mutual confidence."<sup>112</sup>

*Kol Israel*, the magazine of the Israeli Army, published a report about the interview between Begin and Bashir Gemayel the day following the latter's election. Begin reminded his "executive of the conditions of their "collaboration" which brought him to power: "a treaty of peace between our two countries should be signed immediately after the war."

Bashir, isolated in his treason, knew well that he could not honor such an engagement before his people. He asked for delays. Two days later he was assassinated.

Thence, the butchery of Beirut resumed its course at an accelerated rhythm. Let us listen to Jonathan Randel:

Taking into account the departure of the PLO combatants, the mine-clearing of the main Lebanese roads by the diligent French Legion soldiers, as well as the dismantling of most of the sand barricades, the invasion of Beirut did not necessarily require military genius. The Israeli losses in human lives, the prospective of which would have surely been one of the principal elements of dissuasion, were not very high.<sup>113</sup>

In some cases 1,200 Israelis were mobilized against Palestinian positions, never grouping more than a dozen of Fedayin.<sup>114</sup>

Why then, if not for mere vengeance, did Sharon launch these three formidable attacks? This question has never been clarified. In any case, he questionably travestied the truth concerning what had happened in the field, and unjustifiably used his heavy artillery against whole quarters in the city proper where there were very few defenders, without any Palestinian Fedayin amongst them. The only rational explanation is that he wanted to evacuate West Beirut from its Lebanese residents.<sup>115</sup>

Paul-Marc Henry, the French Ambassador, described the situation of forces as follows:

It was an unprecedented armed concentration. In the apex of invasion, Tsahal mobilized in Lebanon nearly 100.000 men. More than 1.000 armored vehicles (M60, Merkava of more than 60 Tons, and Chieftains), as well as a number of vehicles equivalent to V.T.T. M113 were deployed. The armored columns were entirely autonomous and enjoyed the support of many thousands of various vehicles to ensure the supply of arms, ammunitions, and fuel to the army in action. All detachments were linked with a system of communication and electronic transmission which were evaluated by experts as similar to the most sophisticated in the world.

This army had in view the absolute domination of territorial space by means of the physical elimination of all opposition. It benefited from the quasi-total control over the air space... Finally, the Israeli Marines were entirely in command of the maritime space. Equipped with fast and ultra-armed

picket-boats [the Vedettes of Cherbourg and their derivatives]. The navy was in a position to block any reinforcement coming from abroad, to protect any attempt to land or unload supplies, and to provide the support of its considerable power of fire to hammer the besieged cities such as Beirut and Damour. <sup>116</sup>

Randal testifies how this force was used:

Undeniably the Israelis preferred the modern technology and the proven power of firing, the F-16, the teleguided bombs, the white phosphorus, the tanks, the anti-personnel bombs, and the guns of their battle ships, to the traditional Lebanese arms. <sup>117</sup> For matters that break the heart, I do not know of anything as the act of burning a hospital. In Beirut, the scene after the Israeli artillery which is renowned for its precision has started sending its bombs on the institutions marked by the enormous flags and signs of the Red Cross, including the headquarter, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the temporary hospitals installed in the basements and garages; that Scene was particularly atrocious. The surgeons had to rush under coercion in a battle baptized "Begin Amputation," meaning the ablation of organs torn off by anti-personnel bombs and other perfected projectiles utilized by the Israelis.

The Palestinians living in camps remained to be butchered. The testimony of an eyewitness to this siege, Ambassador Paul-Marc Henry, was particularly striking:

The general orders given to the Israeli Army for their entry in West Beirut in the early hours of September 15 precisely indicate that "we shall not enter into the refugee camps. The nabbing, raking and cleaning of camps shall be jointly effected by the Phalangists and the Lebanese Army." As for the Lebanese Army, "it is authorized to enter anywhere in Beirut according to the report of Kahane, the entry of the Phalangists in the refugee camps had been already decided upon, in a common agreement, by General Sharon, the Defense Minister, and General Drori at 20:30 hours of the preceding evening. In course of the day of Thursday the 15th, the Israeli Army proceeded to impose a complete enclosure to the Camps' Zone, which makes us realize the situation when leaving the Residence des Pins. <sup>119</sup>



What, then, was the pretext worth?

The Pretext of the Israeli entry into West Beirut as well as the entry of their auxiliary Phalangists exactly was "to prevent the risk of violence and the effusion of blood and chaos owing to the fact that two thousand terrorists equipped with heavy arms and with sophisticated material have remained in Beirut in flagrant violation of the agreement concerning their evacuation. This pretext has never been subjected to any serious examination. It was not held afterwards to justify the committed crime... The operation of the Phalangists troops within the camps which resulted in an estimated one thousand victims mostly civilians, as in fact no Palestinian terrorist grouping was identified in these camps has been kept in absolute secrecy till the morning of Saturday, 17th September. The only visible indications of intensive activity were the light of the flares supplied by the Israeli Army hanging over the Camps during the nights of Thursday/Friday and Friday/Saturday.<sup>120</sup>

Wednesday September 15, 1982:

Eight o'clock: The Minister of Defense arrives at an advanced post of command installed by Tsahal in Beirut. The Chief of Staff advises of the agreements reached with the Phalangists. They stipulate a general mobilization, the curfew, and the entry of the Phalangists into the refugee camps. Sharon gives his assent, then telephones to the Prime Minister from the roof of the Command Post, informing him that there was no resistance and that all goes as expected.

Eleven o'clock: The speaker of the Army announces: "After the assassination of President Bashir Gernayel, Tsahal has entered West Beirut this night in order to keep order and to avoid grave troubles" <sup>121</sup>

Noon: The Minister of Defense meets with the leaders of the Phalangists in the Headquarters of their Party in Beirut. "The situation is critical," said Sharon, "and we have to make decisions now. We are with you and we shall give you all necessary support."

Thursday September 16, 1982:

10 o'clock: Eytan reports: 'The entire city is in our hands. Everything is quiet. The camps have been isolated and

encircled. The Phalangists shall enter there at 11:30."

Noon: The commanders of the Phalangists arrive to have their first liaison meeting with Tsahal before penetrating the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. According to their plan, soldiers will enter the camps.

19 o'clock: Lieutenant Aloul, an officer in charge of the general district of Beirut, intercepts on his radio a conversation between a Phalangist officer who entered the camps and Elie Hobeika, the Chief of the Special Operations of the Phalangists. The officer detains fifty women and children and asks Hobeika what to do with them. The latter answers: "This is the last time you ask me such questions. You know exactly what you should do." From the roof of the Phalangists Headquarters, the Phalangists explode in coarse laughing. Aloul understands that these women and children will be killed and hurries to inform the commander of his group.

Friday, September 17, 1982:

15:30 hours: The Chief of Staff arrives at Khaldia Airport, near Beirut. He is received by the Chief of the Northern Command, who accompanies him to the Headquarters of the Phalangists. Drori tells him what he knows about the Phalangists' actions. He listens without making any comment.

16:30 hours: A meeting takes place in the Phalangist Headquarters. The Chief of Staff expresses his satisfaction of the Lebanese Forces for their conduct on land. In short, he declares that they can continue their operation of "cleansing" in the evacuated camps in the south of Fakhani till five o'clock in the morning of the following day. At that hour, they have to stop owing the American pressure. The Phalangist leaders ask for bulldozers to destroy the unauthorized constructions in the Palestinian Camps. Eytan agrees to give them one.

And here interposes the macabre alibi of the Kahan Commission, charged with inquiry of these events: it concluded that there was "indirect responsibility" of the Israelis. At least Begin was more frank: "non-Jews have killed non-Jews, and we are accused."

The Kahan Report, meant to cover up the horror before Israeli public opinion and before the international opinion by claiming a

democracy capable of inquiring its own crimes, had double objectives:

1. To attribute to mistakes of men what issues from an implacable logic of a system: political Zionism and its blood-thirsty application by the state of Israel.
2. To allude that the whole matter was a result of mistakes and eccentricity, while the action i.e., the physical elimination of Palestinians has been programmed for years by the Israelis and their Phalangist "collabos."

Begin "miscalculated" the contingency of the Phalangist reprisal against the Palestinians: Sharon "failed to act" when he was informed of the massacres; Shamir "committed the mistake" of noninterfering. The Chief of Staff "did not evaluate" the risk for the population in the camps!

Since the projects were elaborated many years ago the permanent relations with "auxiliary" Phalangists, the perfect knowledge of facts by the political and military responsible leaders, make of this parody of justice, which does not flinch before a deliberate lie in reporting facts, a derisive mockery. "The Kahane Report asserts that the Israeli soldiers could not see what was happening in the passages of the camp, even with the aid of the giant telescopes installed on the roof of the Command Building. However, the journalists who climbed the six stories of that building had no difficulty to see everything with their naked eyes."<sup>122</sup>

Such war criminals have benefited well from their acts: Sharon and Shamir became ministers again, Begin resigned his post at his will, and Raphael Eytan enjoyed a peaceful retreat.

David Kimche, the general director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel, was sent to Washington on December 28, 1981.

On May 20, 1982, Sharon paid a visit to Washington, where he met the Secretary of State, Alexander Haig. Haig who never hid his pro-Israeli tendencies obstinately denied having encouraged or approved the project of invasion undertaken by the Israeli minister. The latter has explained that he went to see his American counterpart to advise him that Israel intended to invade Lebanon whether the Americans like it or not and thus, the United States should not be surprised when this happens, as

they did after the raid against the Iraqi nuclear reactor. He declared to Haig that in Lebanon "the situation is such that we cannot restrain our action for long." Ex-President Carter assured after that that the Secretary of State has given Israel the green light for this operation, a matter which was vehemently denied by those principally interested. <sup>123</sup>

Israel was already at the doors of Beirut when Prime Minister Begin, accompanied by his adjutants and the Chief of the Information Department, Tsahal, left for the United States on June 15, 1982.

Randal concludes:

All available proofs indicate that the Reagan Administration did nothing to stop the Operation in its first stages, contrary to the initial reaction of Carter in March 1978, which was extremely energetic. When the Israelis invaded south Lebanon, in 1982, the United States refused on many occasions to give its approval to projects of Resolutions presented to the Security Council of the UNO enjoining on Israel to immediately withdraw from Lebanon. On the contrary, they consistently voted in favor of the Israelis in such a manner that all the despotic rulers of the Middle East became convinced that Haig was deeply involved with the Israelis. <sup>124</sup>

That is how thereafter the myths about the security of Israel or the "Peace in Galilee" were clarified. The meaning of the Lebanese war, as revealed by Professor Ne'Emam (of the Nationalist Religious Party of the extreme right, Tehiya) in 1982, is that it was an excellent occasion that presented itself to Israel to restore a new order in Lebanon. "The Army must prepare itself to stay there for a long time."

During this time, Israel would be able to ameliorate its economic and technical situation in the region which, historically speaking, constitutes an integral part of Eretz Israel or Greater Israel.. It will be possible for it to integrate the area of South Lebanon up to the Litani River in its Development Plan. <sup>125</sup>

As after every escalation, the Zionist leaders recall that they must go still further in order to realize the long term aims of Political Zionism. Now it is Ariel Sharon who believes that "we have done as yet only a small part of the work." <sup>126</sup>

For this war as for all other wars of Israel, and as courageously expressed by Professor Leibowitz in his press conference held June 14, 1982, in Jerusalem: "The purpose of this war is to prepare for the following one."

In fact, everything happens as if the Zionist leaders were literally applying the verse of the Book of Joshua: "Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have given unto you."

It is the concept of "Greater Israel," the permanent objective of political Zionism, that prompted the General of Reserves, Gazit—former president of Ben Gurion University in Beer Sheba—while evoking the essential objectives in regard to the Israel-Arab conflict to say, "The land of Israel must become one day, in its totality, under Israeli domination, and, furthermore, integrated in the Jewish State. Israel must recognize the urgent necessity of one radical solution to the problem of the Arab presence on the historical land of Israel."<sup>127</sup>

An article in the review *Kivunim* (Directions), published by the World Zionist Organization (No. 14, February 1982), sets forth a "strategy for Israel in the 1980s." This article describes the mechanism whereby the state of Israel, going well beyond all previous aggressions, intends to engage in a systematic and general intervention against the neighboring Arab states, with a view to breaking them up.

An enterprise on this scale, backed by the unconditional and unlimited support given to Israel by the United States, would inevitably raise a tidal wave, not only in all the Arab and other Muslim countries, but throughout the Third World, The Soviet Union would not be able to refrain from intervening. The plan thus constitutes the most dangerous detonator for a third world war, with the prospect of nuclear exchanges which could end in global suicide.

When carried to its extreme consequences (the article shows that the Zionist leaders in the logic of their doctrine are quite conscious of this), the plan no longer affects only a restricted part of the world, it is a threat to all nations. These megalomaniac aims are all the more dangerous in that, up till now, the Zionist state has performed every task to which it publicly set itself.

We cite below the most significant passages from this article,

which reveals the aim corresponding in today's circumstances to the century-old dream of "Greater Israel" cherished by political Zionism:

Regaining the Sinai Peninsula, with its resources present and potential, is a first-rate political aim which is obstructed by Camp David and the peace agreements... Without oil and the income from it, and given our gigantic current expenditure... we shall have to act so as to restore the situation to the status quo which existed in Sinai prior to Sadat's visit and the mistaken peace agreement signed with him in March 1979...

The economic situation in Egypt, the nature of the regime and its pan-Arab policy will bring about a situation such that.. Israel will be forced to act, directly or indirectly, in order to regain control over Sinai... Owing to its internal conflicts, Egypt does not constitute a military-strategic problem, and it could be driven back in a day or two to the position it was in after the war of June 1967. The myth of Egypt as the strong leader of the Arab world.. definitely did not survive 1967... Egypt's power, in proportion both to Israel alone and the rest of the Arab world, has declined by about 50 percent since 1967... In the short run, owing to its recovery of Sinai, Egypt will gain several points at our expense, but... that will not change the balance of forces to its advantage. In its existing domestic political image, Egypt is already a corpse, all the more so if we take into account the growing rift between Muslims and Christians. Breaking Egypt down territorially into distinct geographical regions is the political aim of Israel in the 1990's on its western front...

If Egypt falls apart, countries like Libya and the Sudan, or even the more distant states, will not continue to exist in their present form, but will share the downfall and dissolution of Egypt. The vision of a Christian Coptic state in Upper Egypt, alongside a number of weak states with very localized power and no centralized government is the key to a historical development which, though set back by peace agreement, seem inevitable in the long run.

Although the western front appears, on the face of things, to present more problems, it is actually less complicated than the eastern front... The total dissolution of Lebanon into five provinces serves as a precedent for the entire Arab world... **The break-up of Syria, and Iraq later on, into the ethnically or religiously homogeneous areas... is Israel's primary long run aim, with the destruction of the military power of those states as the primary aim for the short run.** Syria will fall

apart, in accordance with its ethnic and religious structure, into several states... so that its coast will be a Shi'ite Alawi state, there will be a Sunni state in the Aleppo area and another Sunni state around Damascus, hostile to its northern neighbor, and the Druzes will set up a state of their own perhaps in our Golan, but certainly of peace and security in the area in the long run, and this aim is already within our reach today.

**Iraq, on the one hand rich in oil but, on the other, torn by internal conflicts, is firmly in Israel's sights. This country's dissolution is even more important for us than that of Syria. Iraq is stronger than Syria and, in the short term, it is Iraqi power that constitutes the greatest threat to Israel. A war between Iraq and Syria... will tear Iraq apart and bring about its internal collapse even before it becomes able to organize a struggle on a wide front against us. Every kind of inter-Arab confrontation will assist us in the short run, and will bring nearer the realization of the higher aim of breaking Iraq up... So, three (or more) states will come into being around the three major cities—Basra, Baghdad and Mosul while Shi'ite areas in the south will separate from the Sunni and Kurdish north. It may be that the present Iran—Iraq confrontation will deepen this polarization.**

**The entire Arabian peninsula is a natural candidate for dissolution, through pressure from within and from without. This is bound to happen, especially in Saudi Arabia, no matter whether that country's economic might, based on oil, remains intact or whether it ultimately decreases. internal conflict and break-down are a natural process clearly due to results from its present political structure.**

Jordan constitutes a strategic target for the immediate future, but not for the long term, for it will not be a real threat to us after the end of the long reign for King Hussien and the transfer of power to the Palestinians... Israel's policy both in peace and war ought to be directed toward the liquidation of Jordan under the present regime and the transfer of power there to the Palestinian majority. Changing the regime east of the River Jordan will also bring an end to the problem of the territories, densely populated with Arabs, to the west of the river. Whether through war or under conditions of peace, emigration from these territories, and an economic and demographic "freeze" inside them, are the necessary guarantees of the coming change on both banks of the Jordan, and we ought to be actively engaged in accelerating this process in the very near future. The autonomy plan should be rejected along with any scheme for compromise over these territories or their partition... It is

not possible to go on living in this country as at present, without separating the two nations—the Arabs to Jordan and the Jews to the West Bank. Genuine co-existence and peace will reign over the land only when the Arab Jews [meaning Palestinians] understand that without Jewish rule between the Jordan and the sea they will have neither existence nor security.

In the nuclear epoch we shall soon enter, it is no longer possible to live with three-quarters of the Jewish population on the densely populated coastline. Dispersal of the population is therefore a domestic-strategic aim of the highest order. Juda, Samaria, and Galilee are our sole guarantees of national existence, and if we do not become the majority in the mountainous areas we shall not rule in this country, but shall be like the Crusaders, who lost it... Re-balancing the country, demographically, strategically, and economically, is our supreme and most central aim today. Control of the watershed that runs from Beersheba to Upper Galilee is necessitated by our major strategic aim of settling the mountainous part of the country, which is at present empty of the Jews.

The colonialist and racist plan of political Zionism, after entailing the expulsion, robbing, and repression of the Palestinians, a series of aggressive wars in the Middle East, and now the threat of destruction for all the Arab states, constitutes henceforth a threat to world peace.

It may seem paradoxical that a country so small in territorial and number of inhabitants can play such a role in world affairs. To understand why this is the case it is not enough to refer to the country's strategic situation, even though this is very important, at the junction of three continents. Chaim Weizmann was right when he argued to his British contacts that "a Jewish Palestine would be a safeguard to England, in particular in respect to the Suez Canal." <sup>128</sup>

Israel does, indeed, hold the "keys" of the most important trade and military route between East and West—and if today, owing to the passing of hegemony from one power to the other it no longer does this for Britain's benefit, it does it in the service of the United States. Israel's role as gendarme of the Middle East has become still more indispensable for the United States as they can no longer, since the overthrow of the Shah, count on their bases in Iran. Israel alone can watch over not only Suez but also the oil-producing region, and in



addition, can provide safe bases in the eastern Mediterranean. These tasks cannot be performed by the Americans themselves: the Vietnam experience has warned them off direct intervention in the Third World. They operate, therefore, through the agency of Israel, rendering it unconditional and unlimited aid. This position is much more comfortable for them. It is possible, now and again, to indulge in a verbal condemnation of Israel while at the same time protecting it, by use of the veto, from any real sanction that might hinder its freedom of action, and, above all, supplying it with all the money and weapons needed for the accomplishment of these vital tasks and maintaining the position of the United States in the world balance of power. It is noteworthy, for instance, that the United States equips the Israeli Army with the most sophisticated weaponry.[...] The American army can thus carry out extensive experiments with its most up-to-date weapons, using for the purpose an Israeli Army, which is much more efficient than any American expeditionary corps

From the "geopolitical" standpoint, as the Nazis used to say, only [apartheid] South Africa, which stood guard over the "other" route leading to Asia (round the Cape of Good Hope), and which exerted pressure on neighboring African countries, was in a position to render American comparable services, though on a much lower scale of importance. This complementary, along with an obvious similarity of regime (apartheid) and situation (permanent conflict, in the one case with the black world and in the other with the Arab world), is very well understood as between Israel and South Africa, and finds expression in a close solidarity between them.

*Jewish Affairs* (Johannesburg) defined to perfection, in November 1970, this strategic "complimentarily":

For South Africa, the Middle East—with Israel standing guard as the small but irreplaceable sentinel for the free world, is stationed in the very first line of her security. Or, to put it in another form, Israel safeguards the corridor which must be defended as long as possible if it is not to become the highway of potential aggression by a common enemy.

The future of the passage between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, which is crucial for Israel, is no less essential to South Africa than the protection to the Cape sea route. Should

it fall into hostile hands, hostile both to Israel and to South Africa, the Cape sea route would be practically outflanked and the problems of South African security would become vastly more formidable. For Israel a friendly, well-armed and economically strong nation at the southern end of Africa... can only be a valuable strategic asset at her back door.

The relationship finds expression not only in such spectacular moves as Vorster's visit to Israel in 1976 which was all the more revealing in that Vorster, prime minister of the country where the most clear-cut form of racism prevails, held during the Second World War the rank of general in the pro-Nazi organization "Ossewabrandwag"<sup>129</sup> but also in close cooperation in the military, commercial and cultural spheres. The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* wrote on April 26, 1976, when Vorster paid a visit to Yad Va-shem, the memorial to Jews killed by the Nazis:

We tend to examine closely the past of much less important personalities during the Second World War. Was Yad vas-Shem not aware of Vorster's past?... Or perhaps the "national interest" of the state of Israel is more important than the sacredness of the memory of the six million victims of the Nazi holocaust?

After the first talks held in 1970 by Shimon Perez with South Africa's defense minister, Botha,<sup>130</sup> relations have grown closer and closer. South African businesses use Israel as a means of getting around the sanctions imposed by the rest of the world, and the agreement between Israel and the E.E.C. enables them to introduce their products into the countries of the Common Market. "But there is, in addition to everything else, considerable military understanding" between these two countries.<sup>131</sup> The London *Times* of April 3, 1976, adds confirmation to this, in a message from its Cape Town correspondent:

Because of the ban on the sale of arms by many countries, South Africa has difficulty in obtaining modern weapons... Israel, with which South Africa enjoys increasingly cordial relations, is one of the few countries which could provide the Republic with modern weapons and also share the expertise

gained during its wars against the Arabs... During the last few years, South Africa has come increasingly to identify itself with Israel. Newspapers, here frequently draw similarities between the development of Zionism and Afrikanerdom. The president of the American Jewish Congress stated in 1976, in a letter to the secretary-general of the United Nations, that he "noted with regret that Israel figures among the nations that supply arms to South Africa."<sup>132</sup>

South Africa's most valuable article of commerce is uranium. This is especially sought after by Israel, which by November 1976 already had an arsenal of between 13 and 20 bomb of the type dropped on Hiroshima.<sup>133</sup>

On June 29, 1975, *Ha'aretz* published an article by Shalom Aharonson on "the need to re-examine Israel's strategic-political position." Aharonson wrote:

The nuclear weapon is one of the means that can overthrow the Arabs' hopes of an eventual victory over Israel... An adequate number of atomic bombs could cause enormous damage in all the Arab capitals and effect the collapse of the Aswan dam. With an additional supply of these bombs we could deal with the medium-sized towns and the oil installations... In the Arab world there are about a hundred targets the destruction of which... would deprive the Arabs of all the advantages they gained from the Yam Kippur war.

How did it happen that the Zionist state of Israel could assume such importance in the goal strategy of the powers that it is today in a position to imperil world peace?

In *The Jewish State* Herzl says plainly: "we should there [in Palestine] form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism." Since then, however, Israel has become not only the agent of a collective Western colonialism in the Middle East but also for the United States in particular—a major piece in the relation of forces on the planetary chessboard.[...]

[FROM THE]  
CONCLUSION

**A. The Continuity**

Paul Valery wrote, "History is the most dangerous product which the chemistry of intellect has elaborated... It makes people dream... it intoxicates them, engenders in them false remembrances ... it drives them to the delirium of grandeur, or to that of persecution, and makes nations bitter, superb, insupportable and vain."<sup>145</sup>

Nowhere is there greater danger than in the history of Palestine. History in this case is like an ideology of justification to the archaic nationalisms of the nineteenth century. It is dangerous for other reasons as well, because its haunting mythology is frequently substituted for history.

This book does not pretend to rank itself above history and its quarrels. But, opposing the belief of Valery, it strenuously endeavors to question the futuristic point of view, because the only history that is truly humane is not what one writes, but what one makes: the history of the future.

The future is not born of nothing. Its construction compels us to question the past, not to draw lessons from it, but to prove the continuities which are sometimes organic and bearing life, and sometimes solerosing and repetitive. Another reason to study the past is to find out the ruptures which are sometimes creative and authentically "revolutionary," and sometimes simple negation taking us back by a counter revolution to the past, or to nihilism, without inaugurating any future to the human or the divine.

The long research on the history of Palestine tried at first to replace mythology with history, and even tried to take account of the reasons behind the mythologies, and to explain why they have frequently interfered with history, orienting (or disorienting) its course. That is why we were not content with narrating successive events, but opted to follow as well the history of the myth of Palestine in the imagination of the people.

Don Quixote was right in believing that the ideal is more true than the real. It happens that the myth imposes on the history a certain form that changes its course for better or worse: Either it becomes a

creative utopia or an ideology of justification.

Palestine has never been an isolated entity. What constitutes the continuity of its history is exactly that it is a place of encounter, of convergence and of integration, beyond the ruptures, which we shall examine later.

Palestine remained vital from the days of commercial caravans coming from Asia and passing through the Mediterranean to reach Europe and the Maghreb, fill the days of the Buddhist missionaries sent in the third century by the Indian Emperor Asoka all over the world. From among such travellers, many of those who reached Palestine remained to reside therein.

Palestine, which is inseparable from the Fertile Crescent, is the continuity of a dialogue among civilizations. The first started with the migrations or infiltrations of the nomads who stormed across the vast areas from Arabia to Mesopotamia, to Syria, to Palestine, and to Egypt. In this crucible, these tempestuous migrations married and prospered and of their progeny were born two of the greatest ancient civilizations in the world: that of the Fertile Crescent and that of Egypt.

In this place of encounter, where all the Asian colors and winds criss-crossed, from India to Persia, and in Africa through Egypt, the highest echoes of spirituality were retained: from the Faustian epic of Gilgamesh to the great monotheistic dream of Akhnaton.

That is how Palestine became the land of divine messages: the land where the great voice of the prophets of Israel reverberated, where the advent of Jesus took place, and where Islam came to recognize the messages of the same God in all the previous Prophets: Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.

On this land, the ties were fastened with the West Mediterranean, as the peoples of the Fertile Crescent who were in close contact with the Far East swarmed over all the Mediterranean basin on both of its coasts, from Carthage to Phocaea, which later became Marseilles, priding itself in being the "Door of the East."

The land has known as well the foreign domination of the Persians, of the Egyptians, of Alexander and of Rome, of Mogols and of Crusaders, of the English and the Zionists.

## **B. The Ruptures**

The principal ruptures were attempts to impose on the region a Western enclave, sealing off Palestine from the Fertile Crescent and the Arab world of which it was an integral part. It would thus lose its role as public "fountain" on the roads between Asia and Africa, between East and West, and would be replaced by a state exclusively Western whose artificial life, as an appendix of the West, would not be possible without depending on the West in its economy and its defense.

The most typical two ventures were the eight Crusades in the 12th and the 13th centuries, and the six waves of Zionist colonialism immigration, which started one century ago.

The experience of the Crusades was that of a continuous 200 year war which ended in total defeat of the invasion. No army, no matter how powerful, and how superior in techniques and arms, can definitely impose its will on a nation.

The Zionist venture could not take Palestine until after two wars, and could not hold it till after five wars. It could not gain its first victory (i.e., the Balfour Declaration of 1917) save by devious manipulation, exploiting the rivalry among the colonial powers who envisaged tearing apart the Ottoman Empire. It could not obtain the promise to be given a part of the spoils but because of the First World War when England sought the support of the Zionists in drawing the United States to its side against Germany.

The third immigration wave into Palestine (1919-1923) allowed the number of Jews to reach the same level of 1914, i.e., 85,000.

The fourth wave (1924-1932) registered 89,000 immigrants. The newcomers, who came because of their belief in Zionism, and who were encouraged by material advantages due to the Zionist collections from all over the world, and who were protected by the British, were so few that "in 1927, for the first time, the emigration surpassed the immigration."<sup>146</sup>

The Zionist project, then on the brink of failure, was saved by the anti-Jewish policy of Hitler, which enabled Zionist leaders to send a greater number of Jews to Palestine. "The Central Bureau of the Establishment of German Jews started by excluding those who asked

for a certificate without being Zionists. In this case, the needs and interest of Palestine gave them the chance to make the best of their strategy for saving the Jews."<sup>147</sup>

In this manner, "the German Jews were faced with the following dilemma: either to go through 'the camp of indoctrination' set up by the Zionists and leave for Palestine, or end in a concentration camp."<sup>148</sup>

The result proved to be fruitful: from 1929 to 1933, 188,000 Jews entered Palestine. The accession of Hitler to power accelerated the movement, and 215,000 Jews entered Palestine from 1933 to 1939. The limitation under the pressure of the Zionist leaders, on admitting Jews persecuted in Germany in the Allies' countries, pushed the number of the Jewish population in Palestine to 608,000 in 1946 (where 1,237,000 Arabs lived).

The state of Israel has survived by means of five wars: the one that ended in 1948, that of 1956 (in complicity with England and France), the aggression of 1967, with the annexation which made the war of 1973 inevitable, and finally, the invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

In spite of these military activities, Israeli Zionism again reached its last breath, as in 1927 when immigration did not-compensate for emigration. This is fundamentally because Israel is the country in the world where the Jews have the least security owing to the belligerent policy of its leaders. Even the security of the "Diaspora" runs the risk of being threatened in the long term by the irritation caused by the exactions of the Zionist leaders of Israel, and by external financial levies. These ever-increasing tributes were imposed by a state that devotes the greatest part of its budget to war to the detriment of an economy always on the point of bankruptcy despite massive injections of dollars.

If this manner, colonialism is artificially maintained, and its only survivors at present are Israel and South Africa. Its essence is to replace a people by another and a civilization by another.

In this manner, *nationalism* is artificially encouraged in an era where it has become more and more archaic and outdated by the dependence of nations on the "two blocks" led by the super powers.

Historically speaking, Israeli nationalism is even more artificial, as there has never been such a "nation" in Palestine, even in

the time of the Kingdom of David. The coast, withheld by the Philistines, was never a part of that kingdom, and while Jerusalem was the city of David, it was conquered and dominated by its non-Hebrew mercenaries hinging on Judah and Israel.

The political structure was so fragile that it did not allow the development of an autonomous culture. When Solomon built his Temple, it was conceived, built, and decorated by the Philistines as requested of King Hiram of Tyre.<sup>149</sup> During 4,000 years, no Hebrew state existed but for 78 years under David and Solomon, and for one hundred years under the Maccabees.

A symmetrical mistake would occur if we talk about a "Palestinian nation." The legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people is not a "national" struggle in the Western sense of the word. It is a struggle that aims on the one hand at the return to an ancestral land, and on the other hand to become again an integral part of the Arab community, of the "Ummah." It is essentially an anti-colonialist struggle.

The way the Europeans (with the exception of Austria and Greece) behaved toward Israeli nationalism is against the economic interests of Europe, the political exigencies of peace, and the spiritual future of the world.

It leads in the opposite direction of history, because of the historical significance of that enclave of civilization constituting the Fertile Crescent. For example, Beirut, from antiquity, was the ultimate point on the "road of silk" which came from China. The city was not only renowned for its silk factories, but for all that which was conveyed by a far culture at the very time when the Roman Empire and the Chinese Empire did not know of it. They were *closed societies of empires* in constant with *universal open societies*, where the great human nets of exchange intertwined from commerce to culture.

Another example is that of Palmyr, which played a decisive role in the great net of ancient roads, making possible reciprocal fecundation of economies and civilizations from the Mediterranean to India.

The Romans destroyed Palmyr. One thousand years later, the Arabs built Cordova. They created within the mosque the University of Cordova, one of the culture relays from which radiated, especially



on the West, for three centuries, the sciences and the sageness of the Orient, of Greece, and of India. This was not confined to the translation of books of science and wisdom, but contributed new syntheses and the creative developments of a living Islam. At the other end of this field of civilization, from Baghdad till Gondishapour near the Persian Gulf, the physicians and the sages of Islam, of Greece, and of India converged. The Islamic world played this role of casting knowledge in the crucible of the humanization of man, a role that was played in an overt road 3,000 years ago by the peoples of the Fertile Crescent.

For the first time, after 5,000 years, we witness an attempt of inversion to this movement of humanization. Though this region has known foreign invasions and occupations, none of these had the objective of expelling or exterminating the natives. The Romans, the Crusaders and the British colonizers stopped at posting their garrisons, occupying the country in order to dominate it and to exploit its population. The Zionist plan is unprecedented: It aims at replacing a people by another, and a-civilization by another.

T. Herzl proclaimed that "for Europe, we should, there [in Palestine] form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism." Mrs. Golda Meir declared in the Sunday Times of June 15, 1969: "There are no Palestinians. It is not as if there were a Palestinian people in Palestine considering themselves as thus, and as if we have come to throw them out of their doors and take their country. That does not exist."

Reviewing the fundamental laws of Israel, especially those concerning the National Funds (Keren Kayemet) adopted in 1953 and in 1956, one is met with the stipulation that land shall "not be sold nor rented to non-Jews", which is a racist negation extended to the land itself.

Here we have a radically new venture in history, replacing one civilization by another (that of the West denying and destroying the Fertile Crescent), replacing one population by another (invaders coming from all over the world and eliminating the native Arab population). It is a new venture imposing a racist criterion on the ownership of land in order to expropriate the inhabitants and to eternally attribute it to immigrants (by invoking historical and racial

myths).

Such a rejection to others, starting by the Zionist rejection to "assimilation" (i.e, the construction of a civilization in common with persons who do not share the same religious belief) and by Israeli aggression against the people, the land, and the civilization of Arabs, is a phenomenon that has happened only once before in history, though—in the beginning at least—without premeditated planning. It happened when Europeans repulsed and exterminated the indigenous American Indians. In another instance, the phenomenon did not achieve its end when Hitler dreamed to exterminate the Slavs, and at the same time the Jews, in the name of the racist myth of Aryanism.

In this respect, the consequences for humanity are more deadly than ever. That is not only because the attempt to totally efface an ancient culture is an obstacle both to its renaissance and to the contribution that it could offer towards the construction of a humane future for the world. But, in addition, an aggression of such magnitude gives vent to the "integrisms" of all communities. This integrisms prevails in the state of Israel, where the "religious parties" and the rabbinical collegiate play a great role (despite their small numbers) as they provide the mythical ideology necessary for justifying the aggression. The case of Rabbi Meir Kahane is significant. The Israeli leaders cannot but condemn his excesses and tactless clumsiness, but not the principle he advocates, as this is nothing other than the inherent logic of political Zionism pushed to its extreme. It is significant that on such basis he could be elected a deputy in the Knesset and could enjoy its immunities.

Zionist aggression and its projects of expansion are serving as well, as the best nourishment for Arab nationalisms and for all Muslims believing in integrisms and trying to preserve their threatened identity. That is why the Palestinian Resistance, whatever its military setback may be, is invested with a mission of universal value. It has to pick up the historical relay of defending a civilization by a civilization, in the sense of the millenary vocation of the Fertile Crescent.

There is no partial solution, i.e., national in the Western sense, to the Palestinian problem. The only possible solution can only be found in the wholeness of the Fertile Crescent, within which Palestine

is not a separate entity. The Arab world cannot live and realize a renaissance unless it assumes its spiritual heritage of the Fertile Crescent, its "overt" conception of the society of faith as opposed to the closed conception of the imperial West and its Zionist appendix in Palestine.

The two great weaknesses of the Arab world arise from its infidelity to its heritage, by its political nationalisms and its religious sectarianism. The principal mission of the Palestinian "diaspora" is precisely to help it reunite with its past. The Fertile Crescent has become today the "sick man" of the Muslim world, and is well targeted by the Zionist state of Israel. This problem of civilization is dangerously underestimated by most of the heads of the Arab States. A "nationalistic" resistance is deemed to become aimless and fruitless like the other Arab nationalisms.

Because Arabs of different religious beliefs, Muslims and Christians, cooperate within the Palestinian Resistance; its other mission is to help the Arab countries overcome the religious sectarianism, return to the living source of Islam, Christianity and Judaism, taking to heart the unity of the Abrahamic tradition and its new possibilities of creation.

*Roger Garaudy*

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Theodor Herzl, *L'Etat juif* (ed. de l'Herne, 1969), p. 112.
2. See the full text of this letter in Vol. 11, 112 Or this book.
3. Jameson was a colonial administrator in South Africa who in 1895 had organized an attack on Johannesburg against the Boer state. This aggression was disavowed by the British government, who recalled Jameson and imprisoned him.
4. Translated from Bar Zohar, *Ben Gurion, le Prophète armé*, (Ed. Fayard, Paris, 1966). p. 146.
5. E. Haber: *Menahim Begin. The Man and the Legend*. (Dell Books, New York, 1979, p. 385).
6. Hannah Arendt, (o. c.) p. 294.
7. This figure cannot be verified. Hannah Arendt (o. c. p. 141) says that it is 4.5 to 6 million. But the more comprehensive *La Solution Finale*, by Reitlinger, raises other points of incertitude. The crime is not less nor more grave once 4, 6, or 8 million humans have been deliberately exterminated.
8. Abraham Herschel, *Israel: An Echo of Eternity* (Doubleday, New York,

- 1969), p. 115.
9. U.S. Congressional Records, February 18, 1947, p. 1176.
10. Sumner Welles, *We Need Not Fail*, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1948, p. 63).
11. *Les Memoires de Forrestal*, (New York, Viking Press, 1951), p. 363.
12. William Eddy, *F.D. Roosevelt Meets Ibn Saud* (New York, American Friends of the Middle East, 1954), p. 37.
13. Clement Attlee, *A Prime Minister Remembers*, (Heinemann, London, 1961), p. 181.
14. On the massacre of Deir Yassin, it is interesting to compare the two versions given by Begin in *The Revolt*, in the 1951 English edition and the 1971 French translation, and the testimony of Jacques de Reynier, chief of the International Red Cross Delegation to Jerusalem, in *1948 à Jerusalem*, (ed. de la Baconniere, Neuchatel, 1950, reedited in 1969), p. 69 to 78.
15. Idem, p. 162 (mentioned in the French edition, p. 200).
16. On the assassination of Count Bernadotte, see the report of General A. Lundstrom (who was in the Bernadotte's car), which was addressed the same day of the assault (September 17, 1948) to the United Nations. Also, the book published by the same General for the twentieth anniversary of the crime: *L'Assassinat du Comte Bernadotte*, (Rome, ed. A. Fanelli, 1970), under the title *Un Tributo a la memoria del Comte Folke Bernadotte*. Also, by Ralph Hewins. *Count Bernadotte, His Life and His Work* (Hutchinson, 1948), and in the Milan weekly *Europa*, the confessions of Baruch Nadel (cited in *Le Monde*, July 4 and 5, 1971).
17. On this juristic aspect of the problem, see Henri Cattani, *Palestine, The Arabs and Israel* (Longmans, London, 1969).
18. Menahim Begin, *The Revolt, Story of the Irgun*, p. 335, p. 386, French edition (La Table Ronde, 1971).
19. David Ben Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, (The Philosophical Library New York, 1954), p. 530.
20. Colloque Euro-Arabe. Paris, September 1977, published in 1978 in *France Pays Arabes*, p. 136-140.
21. Jewish newsletter, January 9, 1961.
22. Ben Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, p. 489
23. *Israel Government Yearbook 1953-54*, (Government Printing Jerusalem), p. 35.
24. This caused discontent among the American Zionists. The failure of Zionism in this respect is patent: The proportion of Americans emigrating to Israel is less than 2 per million. David Ben Gurion, Tasks and Character of a Modern Zionist (*Jerusalem Post*, August 17, 1952), and "Jewish Telegraphic Agency," August 8, 1951.
26. Official Minutes of 23rd World Zionist Congress, 1951.
27. Cited by Georges Friedmann in *Fin du Peuple Juif* (Gallimard, 1956 (Idees-poche), p. 291-292.
28. *Israel, Yearbook 1953-54*, p. 243.
29. "Jewish Chronicle," March 6, 1964.
30. "Jewish Chronicle," March 13, 1964.

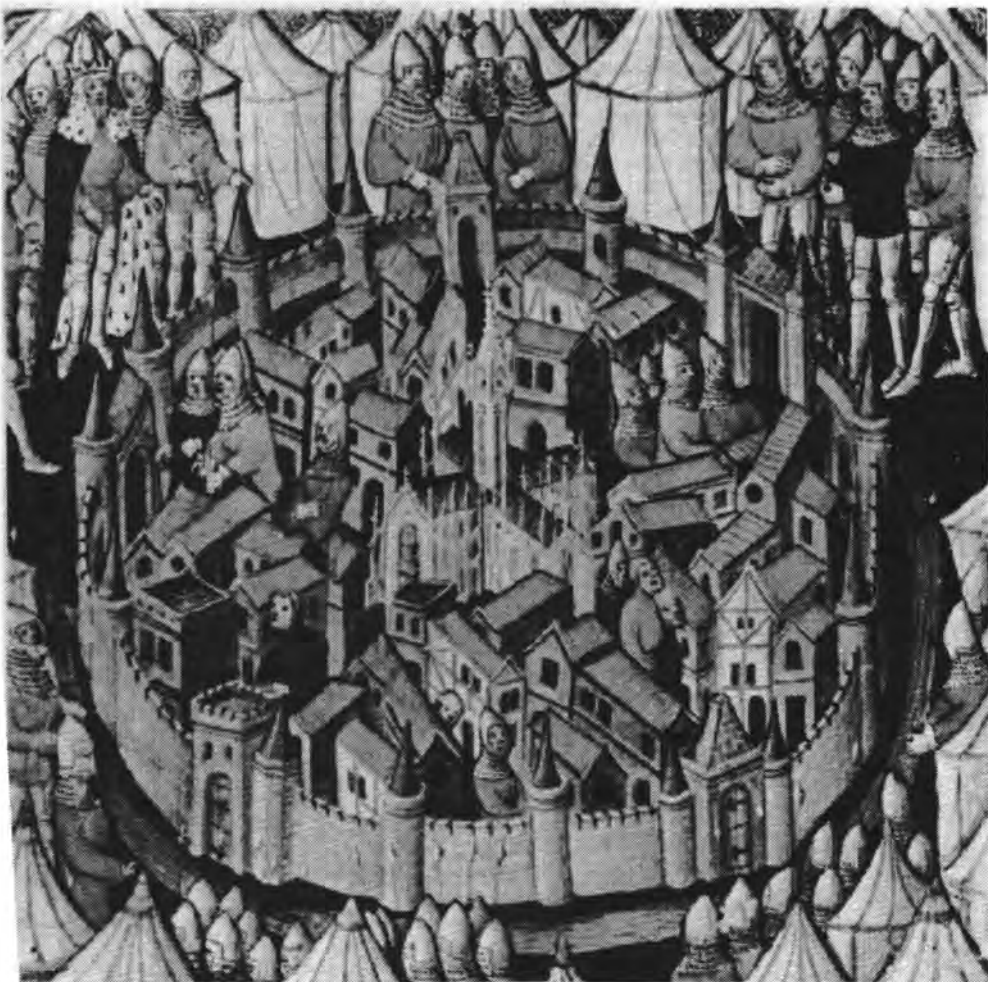
31. United States Senate Hearings, p. 1339.
32. Ibidem, p. 1706-1709.
33. Ibidem, p. 1367-1368.
34. Ibidem, p. 1765-67.
35. Ibidem, p. 1756-57.
36. Ibidem, p. 1758-64.
53. Herzl, *Diaries* (Lowenthal), o.c., p. 257.
54. Herzl, *L'Etat Juif*, p. 32.
55. *Diaries*, o.c., p. 124.
56. William Mandel, *Russia Reexamined* (New York, 1967).
57. Cited by Alfred M. Lilienthal in *What Price Israel?* (Ed. Henry Regnery, (Chicago, 1953), p. 194-195.
58. Ibidem, p. 196.
59. Jewish Newsletter, New York, November 3, 1958. Already in The New York morning *Freiheit* of November 27, 1950, the Israeli correspondent wrote in respect of the Haganah decision: "It was necessary to let the British understand that Jews should not have been brought but to their country. Patria should have been sunk. The decision regarding Patria was transmitted to the members of the Haganah."
60. The narrative of the provocation was given by the Jewish weekly *Ha'olam Haze* on April 20 and June 1, 1966. It was confirmed in August 1972 by Kokhavi Shemesh in the *Black Panther Journal* and by Baruch Nadel in a questionnaire published in Ben Porat by the Court of Appeal of Tel Aviv; on November 7, 1977. The proceedings were published in the newspaper "*Yedi'oth Ahrnonoth*," November 8, 1977 (cited by Ilan Halevi in *La Question Juive*, p.29).
61. *Le Monde*, Wednesday, September 22, 1982, p.2.
62. Cited by Moshe Menuhim (o.c) p. 401.
63. Klein, o.c., p. 155-156.
64. Prof. Klein recognizes that Judaism is not a religion that favors proselytism. (O.c., p. 49).
65. *Le Monde*. March 12. 1966
66. *Proces des grands criminels de guerre devant le tribunal militaire International* (Nuremberg, November 14, 1945, October 1, 1946). Texte officiel en langue française Debats du 26 Avril 1946 (XII, p. 321
67. Sammlung Vahlen, T. 23 Losner-Knost, *Les lois du Nuremberg*. Ch. IV, "La Question Juive," o. 17 (ed. Franz Vahlen, Berlin, 1936).
68. Klein, o.c., p. 124. A project of law in 1972 tending to establish a "civil" marriage to avoid these archaic prohibitions was rejected.
69. Ibidem, p. 123.
70. Cited by Noam Chomsky in *Ha'ar-etz* (March 13, 1972), "Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs" (also published in *Holy Cross Quarterly*), (1972), p. 17.
71. Yossef Weitz, *Journal* (Tel Aviv, 1965).
72. Let us remember that at the time of the Balfour Declaration, the Zionists did not own more than 2.5 percent of the land and ason the decision of "Partition" of Palestine, they owned 6.5 percent. In 1982, they owned 93 percent.

73. See p. 100 .. above.
74. O.c., p. 21.
75. Nathan Weinstock, *Le Sionisme Contre Israel* (Ed. Maspero, Paris, 1969), p. 373.
76. "The plan's proposals regarding West Bank land are as follows: Government-owned lands which are uncultivated will be used, as required, for security needs, for Jewish settlement, and for refugee rehabilitation. Land which is not legally registered in private ownership but is nevertheless privately cultivated will be used, as required, for security needs only. Similarly, land which is legally registered in private ownership but is not cultivated will be used for security, if required. In this case it will be requisitioned, not confiscated. (The difference is that, in requisition, possession is taken by the government but ownership remains vested in the individual.) Privately owned and cultivated land will not be used unless unavoidably required for security or road-building purposes." *Jerusalem Post*, 18 may, 1979.
77. *Ha'aretz*, May 22, 1979, p. 1.
78. *Ma'ariv*, May 22, 1979, p. 4.
79. A dunam is equal to 1000 sq. meters.
80. *Ha'aretz*, May 21, 1979, p.1.
81. Henry Katzew, *South Africa: A Country Without Friends*, cited by R. Stevens, *Zionism, South Africa and Apartheid*.
82. O.c.
83. O.c.
84. *New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1953.
85. General George J. Keegan, the chief of the U.S. Army Secret Service, considers Israel as the only key to counter balance the Soviet imperialism in the Mediterranean. *Jerusalem Post*, August 2, 1977.
86. *Jerusalem Post*, August 10, 1967.
87. N. Iau Lavie, *Moshe Dayan, Biography*, p. 1 56.
88. Menahem Begin, *The Revolt Story of Irgun*, p. 335. The *New York Times* of November 29, 1967, cited an observation by General de Gaulle: "In the event of Suez of 1956, the Israelis looked like bellicose people, avid for expansion."
89. *Al Hamishmar*, April 14, 1972.
90. *Ma'ariv*, April 19, 1972.
91. *Ha'aretz*, March 19, 1972.
92. ibidem (cited in *Le Monde* of June 3, 1972.
93. *The Sunday Times*, London, July 26, 1967, p.7.
94. *Ma'ariv*, July 7, 1968
95. Public statement published by the Israeli weekly *Ha Olam Hazeh* and quoted by the *London Times* of June 25, 1969.
96. *Ma'ariv*, July 7, 1972.
97. *International Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1982.
98. Jonathan Randal, *La Guerre de mille ans* (ea. Grasset, 1984, p. 265.
99. Quoted by Michel Bar Zohar in *The Armed Prophet*, op. cit, pp. 139-140.
100. *Yediot-Aharonot*, May 26, 1974.
101. Randal, o.c., p. 263. 102. Paul-Marc Henry, *Les Jardiniers de l'enfer*

- (Ed. Olivier Orlean, Paris, 1 984), p. 140 ( Transal).
103. Paul-Marc Henry, o.c., p. 100-101.
  104. Shimon Shiffer: "*Operation Snow Ball: The Secrets of Israeli Intervention in Lebanon* (Ed. J.C. Laties, Paris, 1984) p. 281-283.
  105. Randal, o.c., p. 28.
  106. Ibidem, p. 29.
  107. For details and chronology of this collaboration see the testimony of the journalist Shimon Shiffer, whose book *Operation Snow Ball* appeared in 1984 in Hebrew in Israel; none of its documents was contested.
  108. See Shimon Shiffer, o.c., p. 25.
  109. Shiffer, o.c., p. 50-51.
  110. Shiffer, o.c., p. 22.
  111. Ibidem, p. 180.
  112. Ibidem, p. 197.
  113. Randal, o.c., p. 30.
  114. Ibidem, p. 239.
  115. Randal, p. 274.
  116. Paul-Marc Henry, *Les Jardiniers de l'Enfer*, o.c. p. 124.
  117. Jonathan Randal, o.c., p. 278.
  118. Ibidem, p. 273.
  119. Paul-Marc Henry, o.c., p. 207.
  120. Ibidem, p. 208-209.
  121. Shimon Shiffer, o.c., p. 211 - 221.
  122. Randal, O.C., p.36.
  123. Randal, O.C., p. 266
  124. Ibidem, o.c., p. 266.
  125. *Jerusalem Post*, June 24, 1982. In his letter to the Congress of Versailles in 1919, Chaim Weizmann wrote, "The frontiers of the promised state of Israel should include all South Lebanon so as to profit from its natural wealth."
  126. Interview with Ariel Sharon by Oriana Fallaci, in *Europa* magazine of Milan, August 28, 1982.
  127. *Yediot Ahronot*, January 15, 1982.
  128. Cf. Chaim Weizmann, *Birth of Israel*.
  129. In 1942, Vorster wrote, "We are for a Christian Nationalism allied to national socialism. In Italy they call it fascist, in Germany they call it national socialism and in South Africa they call it Christian Nationalism, (cited by Hepple, *South Africa: Workers Under Apartheid*.
  130. See *Sechaba*, April 1970.
  131. C.L. Sulzberg, *New York Times*, April 30, 1971.
  132. *Ha'aretz*, November 14, 1976.
  133. Brian Beckett in *Middle East International*, November 1976.
  145. Paul Valery, *Regards sur le monde actuel*, in *La Pleiade* (Gallimard, vol. 2), p. 935.
  146. *American Jewish Yearbook*, p. 53.
  147. Davidowicz, Lucy S., *La Guerre contre les Juifs*, (1933-45) (Hachette, 1977), p. 306.

148. H.G. Schaffer, *The Soviet Treatment of the Jews*, (Praeger, New York, 1974), p . 79.
149. This reveals the futility of the archeological excavations undertaken under the pretext of finding "The Temple." There can only be the scantiest of traces, but even if these remainders are exhumed, it would be a sign of the cultures of the Philistines who gave their name to Palestine. Other than this nothing can be found except the prolongation of the Roman Wall (built by Herod), called the Wailing Wall. The real reason behind these excavations is to dislocate and destroy the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock which are magnificent manifestations of the Islamic civilization.





The siege of Jerusalem in 1099 by a vast encampment of Crusaders: from a mid-fifteenth century manuscript, The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

## **MISREPRESENTING JERUSALEM**

Irrespective of what will be resolved regarding the status of Jerusalem in the so-called final status negotiations, when and if they are held, the future of the city will be decisively influenced by four and a half decades of massive tampering in its territorial and demographic dimensions, its historic and cultural legacy, its architectural integrity and even in its very identity. Forcible changes in the salient characteristics of the city and its environs in all directions since 1948, together with a vigorous media campaign designed to conceal the physical and historical deformity, have succeeded in sealing the fate of the city for at least another generation. Rarely have such distortions permeating the physical, emotional, historic and legal attributes of a city occurred in this century with such ease and such reticence on the part of world public opinion.

An aura of Hebraic identification has been created and attached to Jerusalem in order to not only regularize the manifest larceny, but to also foreclose on any critical and normal discussion of its ongoing Judaization, as ill-motivated, irrational and even immature. Thus, when former U. S. Senate Majority Leader, Bob Dole, decided to run for the Presidency in 1995, he recognized an instant need to subscribe to the catechism of Jerusalem. Addressing the annual convention of the pro-Israel lobby, the American-Israel Public Affairs

Committee (AIPAC) on May 8, 1995, he said:

No other city on earth besides Jerusalem is the capital of the same country, inhabited by the same people, speaking the same language, and worshipping the same God as it was 3000 years ago.<sup>1</sup>

The U. S. Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, was even more frivolous, when he bragged to the same audience about his academic credentials as a means of validating his own endorsement of the metaphysical ritual. He said:

It is true I am a history teacher by background... Now, I am told if we were to set the embassy up there (in Jerusalem) tomorrow that this would cause enormous unrest among those of the neighbors who would like to destroy Israel. (laughter) Well, I mean, I am frankly not very sympathetic with them, and part of my reaction is they ought to grow up.<sup>2</sup>

Gingrich's scholarship, however, was tailored to available political opportunities and, fortunately, not presented to a history class. The simple fact that the U. S. embassy would be built on confiscated WAQF (Islamic Endowments) land (Blocs 113 and 114 belonging to the Nashashibi family), in a city whose status was declared by the United Nations as corpus separatum under an international regime, was either unknown to Gingrich or was irrelevant and worthy of dismissal by mature people.

Columnist George Will raised the flippancy to new dimensions when he wrote in a recent column that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's guidelines about the status of Jerusalem are quite valid and reasonable and, therefore, should not surprise anyone. He wrote:

Ask average Americans to name the capitals of Delaware, Vermont and Israel. More will know Jerusalem than Dover or Montpelier. Yet, the U.S. government for decades said that locating the U. S. embassy in Jerusalem would "prelude" the city's status.<sup>3</sup>

Will then goes on to up the ante, to out-Israel not only Dole and Gingrich, but Netanyahu himself:

Indeed, that is a good reason for locating the embassy not just in Jerusalem, as Congress has committed a reluctant Clinton to do by May 1997, but in East Jerusalem, the portion Jordan lost by its 1967 aggression, and which Arafat plans to make the capital of a Palestinian state.

Such ready utterances and cavalier conclusions about Jerusalem are not accepted by serious Israelis. Presenting Jerusalem, along with the 70 square kilometer of the West Bank, as the cradle of Judaism, the center of Hebraic culture and the only conceivable capital of the state of Israel, is part of the aura, but it does not necessarily reflect reality. Evidence introduced by authoritative sources reveals that Zionist luminaries, including some of Israel's founders, such as David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizman (the first Prime Minister and first President, respectively) had held even the much smaller Jerusalem of the 1930s and 40s in very low esteem. They and others, including the prominent poet Chaim Bialik and the philosopher Rabbi Ahad Ha'am were even reluctant to live in Jerusalem.

According to Amos Elon, David Ben-Gurion, who had immigrated to Palestine in 1906 and explored the entire country during the next decade, "seems to have avoided Jerusalem almost deliberately."<sup>4</sup> According to Anita Shapira, a leading historian of the period, Ben-Gurion and other leaders of that

generation, regarded "sentiments for Jerusalem as simply reactionary". Both Chaim Bialik and Ahad Ha'am preferred to live in Tel Aviv, because it was built "thoroughly by Jewish hands." Even Chaim Weizmann, who wrote about his 1910 visit to Jerusalem for the first time "not without misgiving," said "I remained prejudiced against the city for many years and even now I still feel ill at ease in it, preferring Rehovoth to the capital."<sup>5</sup>

Elon goes on to describe the extent to which Israel's leaders were willing to settle for other sites as capital in return for recognition of the Jewish state. According to him Zeev Sherf, the first cabinet Secretary of the new provisional government in Tel Aviv, recalled how during the first nineteen months he never knew anybody who thought that West Jerusalem should be Israel's capital.

That was corroborated by Israel's military historian and former Knesset member Meir Pa'il, who wrote that Israel's willingness to reach a settlement in 1949 had fallen far short of seeing Jerusalem as an eternal capital. Accordingly, Moshe Dayan transmitted an offer on January 12, 1949 to King Abdullah of Jordan, via the general consuls of France and the U.S. in Jerusalem. The clear message from the Israeli government indicated willingness to "hand over to the Kingdom of Jordan the following areas of Jerusalem: Mount Zion, Deir Abu-Tor, the railway station, Talpiot, Ramat Rachel, Mekor Haim, the Baqa'a neighborhood, the German Colony, Qatamoun and Maliha".<sup>6</sup> Even the Jewish Quarter in the Old City adjacent to the Wailing Wall, the Mount of Zion cemetery and the Mount of Ophel were conceded by Israel as areas to be placed under international supervision. Thus, when David Ben-Gurion spoke of "Jewish Jerusalem... as an integral part of Israel,"<sup>7</sup> he really meant Jewish West Jerusalem minus certain Jewish neighborhoods and the Old City's Jewish Quarter.

Both Pa'il and Elon acknowledged the connection between the international community's verdict of a corpus

separatum and Jerusalem's multi-religious and cosmopolitan character. Pa'il writes that Jerusalem was chosen as capital by King David for purely political reasons, its location between the largest Hebrew tribes. "This would enable him to consolidate his status as the King of the entire people of Israel, as opposed to merely the leader of the tribe of Judah..."<sup>8</sup> Jerusalem's real importance, according to Pa'il, lies in the fact that its transformation from "the remote capital city of a small people" into a place of "great political vitality" was "connected exclusively with the growth of the three great monotheistic religions"<sup>9</sup>--Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The United Nations Resolution which proposed the internationalization of Jerusalem was an acknowledgment of that reality and so was the acceptance of internationalization by an overwhelming majority of Jewish leadership following the first Palestine-Israel war of 1948. Today's leadership, however, perceive an urgent need to acquire a mythical status for Jerusalem in order to justify their utilization of the colossal imbalance of power as a historic opportunity for a *fait accompli*. They insist that any political settlement not based on the notion that Jerusalem is the non-negotiable enlarged "eternal capital" is no settlement at all. And yet an acceptable and enduring political solution will surely be impeded by a metaphysical definition of the issue.

A whole mythology has been forged to convince the world that Jerusalem is the nerve center of the Jewish universe and Israel's most important national symbol. The aura about Jerusalem is being blemished with a celebration of a "historic" event, the facts around which are uncertain, at best.<sup>10</sup> The late Prime Minister of Israel Yitzhak Rabin, who conquered the city in 1967 from the Jordanians, wanted to commemorate the earlier conquest of the city by David from the Jebusites. Although scholars are not sure when the incident had taken place, the year-long "Jerusalem 3000" celebrations were formally opened in September, 1995. That would make 1996 an anniversary year and would convey a message of Jewish

continuity and reaffirm authenticity, with participation from partisan historians, city planners, artists, travel agents, politicians and rabbis, as well as members of the U.S. Congress. The festival is tantamount to a declaration that the city, which was described by K.A. Creswell as one of the most perfectly preserved examples of medieval Islamic cities, belongs to the Jews.<sup>11</sup> It is designed to promote the erroneous view that Jerusalem was always the capital of the Jews since its wrongly presumed creation by David 3000 years ago, except for periods during which Jews were overpowered by invaders and expelled, but only to come back and reclaim their patrimony. This time Israel's leaders, from both Labor and Likud, vow that the dialectic has reached a climax and that the Jews are finally here to stay in their "eternal capital". In fact, the American historian, Charles D. Mathews wrote in his *Palestine, Muhammedan Holy Land* published in 1946 by Yale University Press that the Arabs were in Palestine long before the Arab/Islamic conquest of 638A.D., and certainly before King David:

"The simple fact is that the majority of the Arab people of Palestine are not descendants of those 'new arrivals' who intruded with the Arab-Islamic conquest in the Seventh Century. The majority of the native Palestinians, both Christian and Muslim Arabs, are of a mixed race whose connection with the land reaches back into very early history... The Arabs of Palestine are the historic people of the land, and the country has always been theirs."

### **A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Jerusalem, known to Jews as the city of David, was in fact occupied, not created by David, nor is it 3000 years old, but 5000 years old, as revealed by the Israeli writer Dan Almaghor quoting Israeli historian, Zev Vilnay (*The Encyclopedia for the Knowledge of the Land of Israel*) and also by Ephraim and Menachem Tilmay in their book, *Jerusalem*.<sup>12</sup> But Israel seems

to have a problem with the term "occupation", itself; the 1967 occupation was described as liberation, and the 1993 Oslo accord excluded the term completely, with the acquiescence of Yaser Arafat.

Excavations carried out on Mount Ophel have revealed an early Bronze Age settlement about 2600 B.C.E. and a Middle Age Bronze town surrounded by a massive wall about 1800 B.C.E.<sup>13</sup> The oldest name of the city was "Urusalem", which refers to a Canaanite-Amorite God. The Jebusites, an extraction of the Canaanites, inhabited the city during the late Bronze Age around 1400 B.C.E., when it was known as Jebus. The city was conquered, not founded, around 1000 B.C.E., by David, a descendant of Abraham who united the Jewish tribes after their return from Egyptian captivity. The occupation of the city by David impelled Dan Almaghor to write the following about the 18 month long, \$10 million extravaganza, celebrating the presumed Jewish presence of 3000 years:

Let us be careful about the rules of truth and reality in our publishing. Accordingly, we must say truthfully: No festivities for the 3000-year anniversary of the foundation of Jerusalem but for the occupation of Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup>

Nor was the Jewish presence and rule in the city continuous. David's son, Solomon built the first temple of Jerusalem, which was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, leader of the Babylonians in 587 B.C. The Israelites were taken into captivity for the second time, the first one having happened in the eighth century B.C. at the hands of the Assyrians. After the Persians conquered Babylon, their King Cyrus issued an edict permitting the Jews to return to Palestine and to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem around 530 B.C.<sup>15</sup>

Palestine fell under Macedonian rule in 332 B.C. but the great empire of Alexander the Great broke up at his death in



323, when Palestine fell under the control of the Ptolemites of Egypt. In the year 200 B.C. Antiochus III (The Great), the Seleucidian King who ruled Syria and Mesopotamia, succeeded in taking control from the Ptolemites, but ten years later he was defeated by the Romans.<sup>16</sup> A partial reappearance of Jewish rule was ended with the Roman conquest and the arrival of Pompey in 63 B.C.

In 135 A.D., the Jews were expelled from Jerusalem by Hadrian into the Diaspora, after a revolt had erupted in 132 A.D. The emperor Hadrian ordered the building of the new city of Aelia Capitolina upon the ruins of Jerusalem in 135. Jerusalem became a Roman colony for the next two centuries, and a period of Christian ascendancy over the city extended from 324-638.<sup>17</sup>

The conversion to Christianity in 325 of the Emperor Constantine brought the first great buildings of Christian importance, such as his basilica of the Church of Resurrection or the Holy Sepulcher on the site of Jesus' crucifixion. Constantine is also known for the building of Constantinople as capital of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire which survived nearly a thousand years after the fall of the Western part in 476.

Under Constantine and his successors, Jerusalem, which was of little importance to the empire, achieved a renewed prominence and became a center of pilgrimage, where foreign visitors came in considerable numbers. Constantine continued Hadrian's policy of disallowing Jews to live in Jerusalem except for an annual pilgrimage to the Western wall of the Temple to lament its destruction.

The Byzantine Empire was challenged by Chosroes, the leader of the Sasanid Persian Empire who invaded Syria, took Damascus in 613, and marched towards Jerusalem in 614. Assisted by the Jewish population in the countryside seeking revenge for their suffering under Rome and Byzantium, the Persians entered the city, demolished everything in sight, even the tomb of Christ. They slaughtered numerous citizens, sold

many Christians as slaves and left the Jews in control of the city. The Persians later expelled the Jews and allowed the destroyed churches to be restored. By 629 the Persians were in disarray and Byzantine rule was restored.

### **THE ARAB/ISLAMIC PERIOD**

While the Roman and Persian armies were confronting each other, a new challenge was mounted against both from Arabia. The Prophet Muhammed had sent military contingents which were initially defeated, but few years later the Arabs reached the outskirts of Gaza, advanced to twenty miles southwest of Jerusalem and defeated the Roman army at the decisive battle of Yarmouk in 636, causing it to retreat from Syria. Jerusalem had been besieged by the Arabs since 637 and in the following year, the third Caliph, Omar Ibn al-Khatib, received a message from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius that he would surrender the city but to him alone.<sup>18</sup> Sophronius was terribly haunted by memories only of twenty two years earlier when the Persians wreaked havoc on the city, and he realized that the situation was desperate. By surrendering to the Caliph himself, the Patriarch was hoping to guarantee the survival of the city and its population. It was indeed the first time that the city had been spared destruction by a conqueror. Omar, a tolerant, modest and devout person, set an example for his followers when he declined the Patriarch's invitation to pray with him in the church of the Holy Sepulcher in order not to encourage his followers to turn the church later into a mosque. Moreover, the terms of surrender revealed a rare magnanimity whereby the vanquished safety, property and churches were guaranteed in return for the payment of the Jizya (poll tax).

Extracts from Omar's Covenant speak for themselves:

In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the covenant which Omar Ibn al-Khattab, the servant of Allah, the

Commander of the Faithful, grants to the people of Aelia (Bait Al Maqdis--the Holy House). He grants them security of their lives, their possessions, their churches and crosses...they shall have freedom of religion and none shall be molested unless they rise up in a body. They shall pay a tax instead of military service...and those who leave the city shall be safeguarded until they reach their destination.<sup>19</sup>

The Jews--barred by the Byzantines from Jerusalem for all but one day a year--were allowed to live and worship in the city. The Israeli historian Zev Vilnary expressed it this way:

"Whenever Jerusalem came under the rule of Christians, Jews were not allowed to stay or live in it. Those Jews who happened to come to the city during their (the Christian) rule were either killed or expelled. On the other hand, whenever the Muslims occupied the city they used to call the Jews in, allow them to live inside the city... and they lived in peace."<sup>20</sup>

Jerusalem had already been venerated almost from the inception of Islam. A year before the hijra from Mecca to Medina (621), it was revealed that the prophet's nocturnal journey, Isra was from Mecca (al-Masjid al-Haram) to al-Masjid al-Aqsa or the Haram, the Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem. The sanctity of Jerusalem, known now as Bait al-Maqdis, was further reaffirmed by a famous hadith (sayings of Muhammed): "You shall only set out to three Mosques, the Haram Mosque (in Mecca), my Mosque (in Medina), and the Aqsa Mosque (in Jerusalem)."

Jerusalem's special place in Islam was bolstered by the Caliph Omar's short visit. He went to the Haram area which the

Christians had neglected, cleared the ground by the Rock and prayed nearly South of it where the Mosque of Omar came to be constructed. Many of the Prophet's companions (Sahaba) visited the city and prayed there, and the fourth Caliph, Uthman, inaugurated the Silwan Spring as Waqf (religious endowment) which came to be the beginning of Muslim endowments for Jerusalem (Bait al-Maqdis) throughout the ages.<sup>21</sup>

The historic and religious significance of Jerusalem for Muslims and Arabs had grown steadily under the Umayyad dynasty, which ruled between 661-751 having spread Islam's domain to North Africa and Spain. The Caliph Muawiya said from the pulpit of the Mosque in Jerusalem: "the area between the two walls of this Mosque is dearer to God than the rest of the earth".<sup>22</sup> Two of the Umayyad Caliphs were inaugurated in Jerusalem. The Dome of the Rock was built by the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan in 691/692 as a shrine to rival Mecca. Abdullah Schliefer, however, wrote that the Haram was more than a setting for Abd al-Malik's political maneuvers:

It is both a shrine and a treasurer house harboring mosques, ritual polls, Karanir schools and courts, arcades, formal gardens and cypress groves, tombs, and open-air prayer platforms, all of which recall in actual carved inscription or undying legend the names of prophets, holy men, kings, emirs, and caliphs.<sup>23</sup>

Around the end of the seventh century, Arabic replaced Greek as the official language in the city and the Arabic dinar replaced Byzantium's coinage: Veneration for the city grew widely during the Abbasid period, 750-969. The major contribution of the Abbasids was the restoration and rebuilding of the Aqsa Mosque by the Caliph, Abu-Jafar al-Mansour. The Dome of the Rock was also repaired by the Caliph, al-Mamoun,

who together with other Abbasid Caliphs visited the city. The Abbasid dynasty reached its zenith under Haroun al-Rashid, who established good relations with Western Christendom. However, the close of the tenth century witnessed a general decline among both Christian and Muslim powers. The Abbasids lost power in 969 to descendants of the Caliph Ali and the Prophet Muhammed daughter, Fatima. Calling themselves the Fatimids, the new rulers captured Jerusalem in 966 and set up an oppressive regime, which was succeeded by the Seljuk Turks 1071-1096.

As the Seljuk and Fatimid empires fragmented, the call to arms was being sounded in Europe, which had not forgotten the Arab conquest of Spain and the defeat of Byzantium by the Turks. Stories about Muslim persecution of Christians in Jerusalem and alarms sounded about danger to the holy places were used to rally support for the crusades. In 1099, the Crusades defeated the Fatimids and conquered Jerusalem, interrupting four and a half centuries of Arab/Muslim rule. It was a temporary situation, however, for the loss of Bait al-Maqdis became a mobilizing event, and a focal point of resistance. It was the sanctity of Jerusalem which made it a symbol of Jihad against the invaders, but it was also the brutality of the conquerors which confirmed the resolve of Muslims and Arabs to obtain redress.

The conquest by the crusaders was a sharp contrast to Omar's conquest four and a half centuries earlier. On July 15, 1099, after a month's siege, "the city was subjected to one of the greatest massacres in its tragic history... The carnage lasted two days and threatened even the Christians living in the city. The small Jewish community were burned in their synagogue. More than 70,000 Muslim and Jewish civilians were put to the sword. "It was impossible to see without horror that mass of dead," wrote William of Tyre about the massacre. Even the sight of the victors, covered in blood, was an object of terror", he added.<sup>24</sup> It was William of Tyre who expressed great fears in

his famous work that a single Muslim prince would reunite the realms of Syria and Egypt and abolish the very name Christian.<sup>25</sup> That prince was to emerge in the person of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, who defeated the Franks in the famous battle of Hittin on July 4, 1187 and recaptured Jerusalem for the Muslims three months later. His treatment of Jerusalem represented a sharp contrast to that of its crusader captors in 1099. He removed the Christian emblems from the Aqsa Mosque where the crusades quartered their horses, and removed all structural additions and decorations made by the Templars and the Augustinian canons. He treated the civilian population well and offered safe passage. He allowed Christian pilgrims to enter Jerusalem in his treaty with Richard (the Lion-hearted) in 1191. He restored the church of the Holy Sepulcher to the Orthodox church and, keeping with the Caliph Omar's tradition, he allowed the Jews to return to Palestine and gave them freedom of worship.<sup>26</sup> The Spanish-Jewish poet Yehuda al-Harizi, is quoted by A.K. Asali as having described the significance of Salah al-Din's recovery of Jerusalem for Jews in the following words: "(in A.D. 1190 God aroused the spirit of the prince of the Israelites (Salah al-Din), a prudent and courageous man, who came with his entire army, besieged Jerusalem, took it and had it proclaimed throughout the country that he would receive and accept the entire race of Ephraim (the Jews), wherever they came from... we now live here in the shadow of peace."<sup>27</sup> Salah al-Din was intent on fortifying Jerusalem and restoring its Arab/Muslim character. To that end, he built numerous religious, educational, and cultural institutions and foundations, and made the city accessible to the three religious communities. A renaissance continued through the Mamluk period which witnessed the presence of some 49 Islamic colleges in Jerusalem.

By 1219 the Mongols under Genghiz Kahn devastated much of the Islamic world and were stopped at last by the armies of the Mamelukes (1247-1517) in 1250. For the next

two hundred years, Mamelouke sultans did much reconstruction and decoration of the Haram area, and accelerated the building of schools and foundations. By 1517, both Jerusalem and Cairo had fallen to the Ottoman Turks, who continued to renovate the Muslim holy places. Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent left a lasting imprint on Jerusalem by completely rebuilding its walls between 1537 and 1541. That trend of reconstruction continued until the end of Ottoman rule in 1917, when Jerusalem fell to the British.

TABLE 1					
The Population of the Town/Qada' of Jerusalem 1849-1914 according to the Ottoman Sources.					
	Year	Muslim	Christians	Jews	Total
Town of Jerusalem	1849	6,148	3,744	1,790	11,682
	1871-72	6,150	4,428	3,780	14,358
Qada' of Jerusalem	1881-93	54,364	19,590	7,105	81,059
	1914	70,270	32,461	18,190	120,921

Reproduced from Asali: op.cit. p.232. Sources: For the town of Jerusalem see Alexander Scholch, "The Demographic Development of Palestine, 1850-1882" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17/4, 1985; for the qada' (including the town) of Jerusalem see Kamal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, Madison, 1985, 144-145 and 184-185.

Thus, Muslim rule over Jerusalem and Palestine lasted thirteen centuries, except for the Christian interregnum. By contrast, the Jews lived in the city as small minority between the Seventh Century A.D. and the mid 19th Century. According to the late A.K. Asali, during 5000 years of Jerusalem's history, Jews lived in the city perhaps 1135 years as a majority, during which they ruled the city for only about 600 years.<sup>28</sup> Until 1850, they constituted less than 4 percent of the population of Palestine which was approximately 350,000.<sup>29</sup> In 1882, Jewish immigration to Palestine began to mount under

the impetus of the Zionist movement which emerged as a response to European anti-semitism. According to Alexander Scholch the number of Jews in Jerusalem, which was 2000 in 1800, increased to 17,000 by 1880 and more than doubled to 34,400 in 1922.

The entire area of Palestine was placed under a League of Nations mandate in 1922, which was administered by Britain until 1948. During the mandate period, tensions rose between Arabs and Jews after the Zionist movement embarked upon making Palestine a national home for the Jewish people and stepped up a campaign of mass immigration. Since the people of Palestine were overwhelmingly Muslim and Christian Arabs, the Mandate assumed full responsibility for "preserving existing rights" in the holy places. After a serious outbreak of violence over the Western Wall (Wailing Wall) in the area of the Haram al-Sharif during the 1920s, an international commission was appointed under Article 14 of the Mandate to investigate the claims of the two parties in Jerusalem. On the fundamental question of religious rights, the commission resolved:

"To the Muslims belong the sole ownership and the sole proprietary right to the Western Wall, seeing fit that it forms an integral part of the Haram-esh-Sharif area...

"To the Muslims there also belongs the ownership of the pavement in front of the Moghrabi (Moroccan) Quarter opposite the Wall.<sup>30</sup>

This was made law on June 8, 1931 and remained in effect until the end of the Mandate.

After the Palestinian rebellion of 1937-1939 against Jewish colonization and British repression, a royal commission, proposed the Partition of Palestine into an Arab state and a Jewish state with a Jerusalem-Bethlehem enclave, encompassing the holy places to be endowed with an international status.



## **THE UNITED NATIONS AND JERUSALEM**

**1947-1949**

Partition and internationalization were proposed again by the United Nations after Britain declared its inability to resolve the Palestine conflict in 1947. The U.N. Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), appointed by the General Assembly to present proposals for settlement, estimated that there were about 100,000 Jews (many of whom were recent immigrants) and 105,000 Arabs in Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup> The committee unanimously recommended that "the sacred character of the Holy Places shall be preserved" and that "existing rights" be also preserved. It also recommended partition of Palestine and internationalization of Jerusalem, which was accepted by the General Assembly in its Resolution 181 II on November 29, 1947. A demilitarized Jerusalem was envisaged as *corpus separatum* under the aegis of the U.N. Trusteeship Council to be ruled by a governor and a Legislative Council to be elected by residents of the city on the basis of universal suffrage irrespective of nationality. The principle of upholding "existing rights" in the Holy Places was also maintained in the Partition Resolution.

It is important to note that Jerusalem acquired a legal status both as a city and a district in the mid-19th Century. When the British assumed power following the Ottomans defeat, they began to tamper with the city's municipal borders in order to tilt the demographic balance in favor of the Jewish community. Michael Dumper described the process as gerrymandering whereby many new Jewish neighborhoods were incorporated into the city while adjacent Arab villages remained outside the municipal boundaries. Palestinian geographer, Khalil Toufakji described the tampering by the British mandate authorities this way:

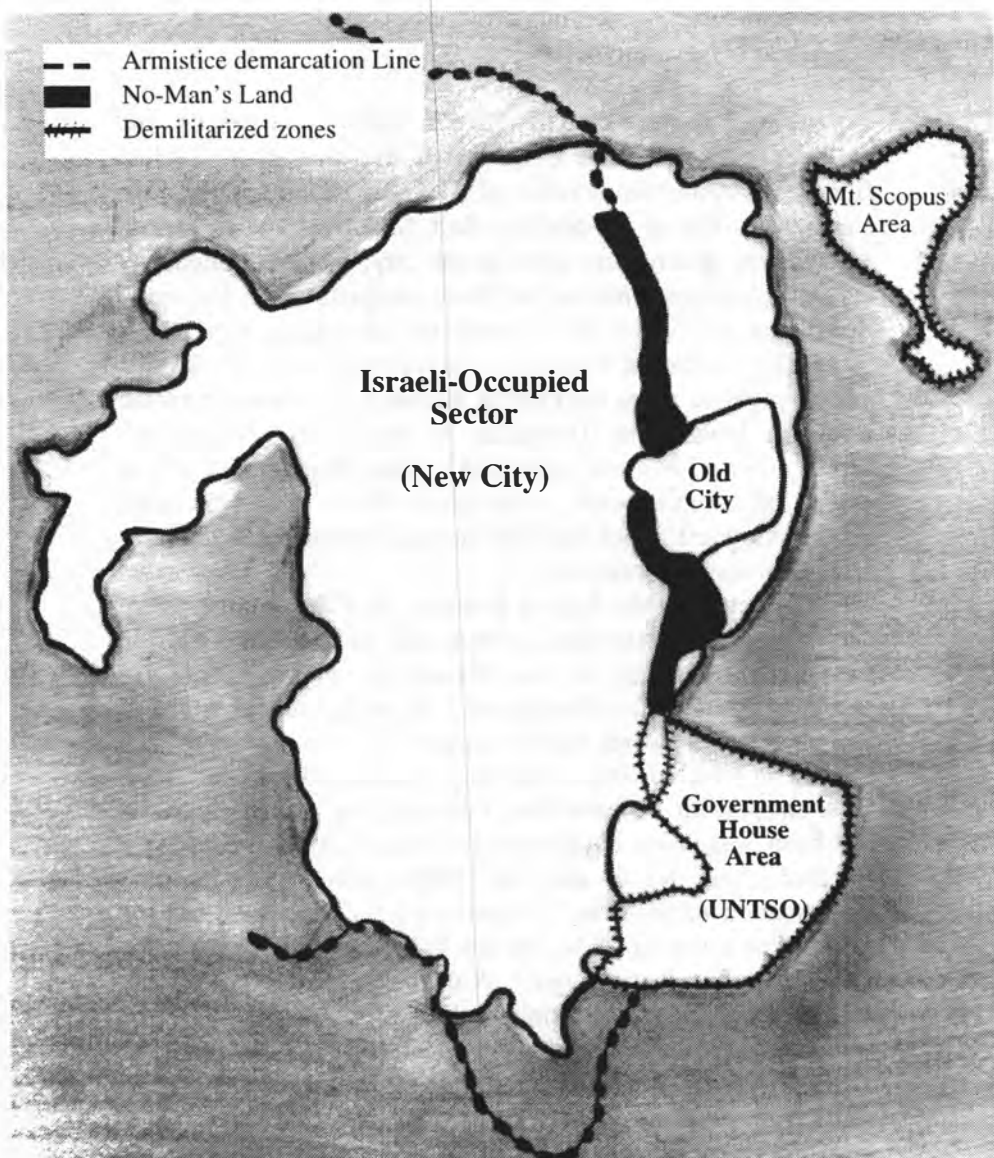
"The Western boundaries (abutting Jewish neighborhoods) were made to stretch for several

Kilometers, while the Southern and Eastern boundaries, abutting Arab areas, were stretched by only several meters.<sup>32</sup>

Map 1 shows a kind of a hook to the West of the city, and provides a crystal clear evidence of the demographic ploy. Hence, the Arab communities of Al-Tour, Shoufat, Lifta, Deir Yasin, Ein Karem, al-Maliha, Beit Safafa and Silwan and Al-Azariya, which were close to the city, were excluded, but the Jewish communities to the West, comprising Bet Hakerem, Beit Vegan and Qiryat Moshe, make up the strange "hook".<sup>33</sup>

The conflict in Palestine, which erupted after the Zionist militia expelled more than half a million Palestinians from the would-be Jewish state (according to the partition resolution) between Nov. 1947 and April 1948, while Britain was still in charge of administration, ruled out a diplomatic settlement. Neither the Partition of Palestine nor the internationalization of Jerusalem was implemented.

In actuality the fate of Palestine and that of Jerusalem was determined by the force of arms, just as David Ben-Gurion had predicted when he was blamed by his followers for accepting the Partition Resolution. It was a tactical approval designed to win world public opinion for a Jewish state in a country in which Jewish ownership of land did not amount to quite six percent. Meanwhile, a campaign of ethnic cleansing had been waged by Zionist military organizations such as the Haganah, the Irgun and the Stern Gang prior to the proclamation of the State of Israel on May 15, 1948, and the subsequent entry of Arab armies to defend the Palestinians against the Jewish onslaught. With the Zionist forces having decisively defeated the Arab armies, U.N. negotiated truce agreements were reached on November 16, 1948 and on April 3, 1949. Israeli control had expanded deep into the proposed Arab state and into the Western part of Jerusalem, which included the Arab neighborhoods of Qatamoun, Baqa'a, and



Map 1: Jerusalem according to the General Armistice Agreement 1949

Talbiya . The truce agreements resulted in a defacto division of the city between Jordan, whose forces were in the Eastern part, and Israel in the West, but the United Nations continued to press for internationalization in accordance with resolution 181 II.

### **THE TRANSFORMATION OF JERUSALEM**

The City, which had become, in a way, the capital of Palestine during the 19th century, and whose importance for about three thousand years derived less from commerce, communications or defense but was largely due to its religious and political character, was in danger of losing that character in the mid-twentieth century. A continuous Muslim/Arab rule had prevailed for nearly 13 centuries, from 637 A.D. until 1917 A.D. Three decades of British rule paved the way for a transformation of the city and the country. By the end of that rule, a systematic attempt to dwarf its Muslim/Arab character and to make it a predominately Jewish metropolis had proceeded with unusual vigor and hype. While the multi-religious character was preserved throughout the 13 centuries of Muslim/Arab rule, the present campaign by Israel and the Zionist movement is geared towards a Jewish ascendancy and an erosion of Christian and Muslim influence. To that end, the tampering with Jerusalem at the level of boundaries, demography, culture and history has been an ongoing process since 1948. A forcible transformation reveals a city in flux, in a state of rapid transition and schizophrenia. Amos Elon, a man of liberal instincts who abhors the religious influence in Jerusalem yet who does not oppose its transformation to a Jewish city, expressed it this way:

The accumulation of so much passion and memory-much of it expressed in religious or quasi-religious terms-made the city seem wondrous and at the same time quite psychotic<sup>34</sup>

### **1. 1948-1967, East and West Jerusalem**

With Jordanian and Israeli forces occupying East and West Jerusalem, The City began to assume a dual character. The policies of both states were directed towards integrating each occupied section into the respective state. Both took their own separate steps to extend their own jurisdiction to the portions they occupied, in the face of international disapproval. Jordan established a municipal council in December 1948 and expanded the borders of the municipality to include the Arab villages and neighborhoods of Silwan, Aqabat al-Suwana, Ard al-Samar, Ras al-Amoud and Southern Shoufat. The only Jewish sectors of Jerusalem lost to Jordan in 1948 were Mount Scopus, the Jewish quarter and the Western (Wailing) Wall inside the old city.

TABLE 2				
Village	Palestinian Owned	Jewish Owned	Public	Total
Lifta and Sheikh Badr	7,780	756	207	8,743
Deir Yasin	2,701	153	3	2,857
Ein Karem	13,449	1,362	218	15,029
Al-Maliha	2,701	153	3	2,857
Total				28,846

Israel, on the other hand, extended its jurisdiction to nine Arab villages and neighborhoods, which together made up the bulk of what has become known as West Jerusalem, and commonly considered Israeli since 1948. In fact, the predominantly Jewish section of West Jerusalem was but a slice of what became known as Israeli West Jerusalem. The Arab villages which were annexed to "West Jerusalem" were Lifta, Deir Yasin, Ein Karem, and Al-Maliha. The urban centers annexed to West Jerusalem were Talbiya, Al-Qatamoun, upper and lower Baqa'a, Mamilla, and the Abu-Tour-Musrara quarter. Together, the four villages totaled 28,486 donums of land ( 1 donum equals 1000 sq. meters or roughly one fourth of an

acre), 90 percent of which were owned by Palestinian Arabs. Today this area constitutes most of Jewish West Jerusalem, which houses the Knesset and a number of ministries including the Prime Minister's office.

It should be noted that the Palestinian residents of these villages were driven out of their homes and property between April and July 1948. The infamous massacre of Deir Yasin was committed by Menachem Begin's Irgun on April 9, 1948. Today, Deir Yasin is a Jewish industrial zone.<sup>35</sup>

Over 30,000 of the inhabitants of the Arab villages and urban centers around Jerusalem were driven out by force or fled the outbreak of violence, several months before 2000 Jews were forced out of the Jewish quarter in the Old City by the Jordanians.<sup>36</sup> The residence of the Israeli President stands today on Palestinian-owned land in Talbiya. The nearby Muslim cemetery of Mamilla [Ma'man Allah] was converted to the Israeli Independence Park with lawns, playgrounds and restrooms.

According to British mandate statistics, only 2 percent of Jerusalem, as defined in 1945, was owned by Jews; 84 percent was owned by Arabs and 14 percent was public land. After the armistice of 1949, the new West Jerusalem was comprised of land, 40 percent of which was owned by Arabs, 26.12 percent owned by Jews and the rest was public land and religious property.<sup>37</sup> This Arab-owned land, like other land throughout Palestine, was transferred to the Israel Land Authority (Keren Keyemet) and to the Jewish National Fund (JNF), whose charter prohibits the transfer of JNF land to any non-Jews. Thus, this intent was to make the seizure irrevocable and the redefinition of Jerusalem permanent pending further expansion, which has been on-going since 1967.

Israel moved on to consolidate its control of the large tracts of land annexed in 1948/49 when the Parliament (Knesset) proclaimed Jerusalem the capital of Israel on January 23, 1950. Israeli ministries were also moved to the newly

demarcated city in 1951. Following that, Jordan moved to formalize its control of the West Bank and Eastern Jerusalem, though with the declared promise that the move did not prejudice the final outcome of the Palestine question.<sup>38</sup>

As the division began to assume a permanent character, the political, psychological, religious and cultural barriers were also consolidated. By the 1950's Jerusalem became two very different cities, one Arab, the other European. Meanwhile the U.N. efforts to keep internationalization alive were fading, and yet, most countries maintained embassies and diplomatic legations in Tel Aviv in deference to the U.N.- mandated status.

## **2. The land grab of post- 1967 and the legal facade**

Having consolidated its control of West Jerusalem after 1948, Israel used its 1967 conquest as an opportunity to extend its jurisdiction to the Jordanian-ruled East Jerusalem, and to enlarge the boundaries yet another time to add numerous new Arab villages and neighborhoods. During 29 years of a second occupation, more than 25 percent of the area known as the West Bank was expropriated and incorporated into a newly-created greater Jerusalem. Israeli Chief of Staff, General Moshe Dayan declared his government's intentions soon after he conquered the Old City on June 7, 1967:

The Israeli Defense Forces have liberated Jerusalem. We have reunited the torn city, the capital of Israel. We have returned to this most sacred shrine, never to part from it again.<sup>39</sup>

Shortly after that, the physical barriers between East and West Jerusalem were removed. The Moghrabi section of the Old City was totally razed with its 350 homes for more than 700 residents to accommodate a new plaza in front of the Western Wall. That was followed by mass expulsions from the Moghrabi Quarter and the Jewish Quarter of the Old City in

order to facilitate archaeological excavations and to construct new buildings for Jews only. Today, the Jewish Quarter stands at four times its original size.

General Dayan's declaration was formalized by the Israeli Parliament three weeks after the fall of Jerusalem. Defying U.N. resolutions on Jerusalem and the entire Palestine question, the Israeli Knesset adopted three legislative acts on June 27 and 18, 1967, extending Israeli law to the occupied Eastern sector of the city and enlarging the municipal boundaries of "united" Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> The language used, however, avoided the term annexation but the legal facade was thinly veiled. The first act, dated June 27, 1967 was an amendment (number 11) to the Law and Administration Ordinance. It stated: "the law, jurisdiction, and administration of the state shall extend to any area of Eretz Israel designed by the government by order". This amendment was applied the very next day to a new area of Jerusalem and vicinity, stretching North to South from Qalandya airport, just South of Ramallah, Southward to the Arab villages of Sour Baher and Beit Safafa, and West to East from the armistice line Eastward to the villages Anata, al-Ram, and al-Tur. The new designation was enacted on June 28, 1967, in accordance with II-B of the Law and Administration Ordinance, 1948 as amended, and a chart indicated the new boundaries. Another amendment was passed on the same day extending the municipal jurisdiction of West Jerusalem under the title "Enlargement of the Area of the Jerusalem Municipality". On the next day, January 29, 1967, the Assistant Military Commander of Jerusalem, Yaacov Salman issued an order dissolving the East Jerusalem Municipal Council. The Arab Mayor, Rouhi al-Khatib was informed that he and his colleagues on the council were considered as "temporary employees... until their appointment is decided by the Jerusalem Municipality after they submit written applications for work..."<sup>41</sup> The Israeli occupation forces seized all property, furniture, records and equipment belonging to the Jerusalem



Arab Municipality and to the Jordan government. They abolished Jordanian law in the city and brought all government departments and courts under their control, making the Arab population of Jerusalem Israeli subjects. All of these forcible changes, which amounted to annexation, were described euphemistically as unification, while the dissolution of the Arab municipality was declared as "integration of services".

The enlargement of the city and the new land seizure were guided by a strategy of colonizing the land but minimizing the number of Palestinians in the expanded boundaries, which as a result, made Jerusalem approximately 29,000 acres. Jordanian Jerusalem comprised only 1500 acres, while West Jerusalem stretched over some 10,000 acres, most of which had been seized from the Arabs in 1948, as already stated. The new land grab thus amounted to about 17,500 acres. Suddenly, Israel's Jerusalem expanded by 65 percent. Israel managed to avoid adding about 80,000 Arabs to the population of the expanded city by not applying its amendment to the Law and Administration Ordinance to the Arab villages of Abu-Dis, Anata, Hizma, Beit Iksa, Beit Hanina, and al-Ram, as well as the Qalandia refugee camp and the neighborhood of Bethany. To bolster the Zionist dictum of acquiring the land without the people, the occupation authorities carried out a general census of the entire occupied territory, including Jerusalem on July 25, 1967. All residents who were away working, visiting relatives or touring were considered absentees and denied their right to reside in the City. That was also applied to the citizens who either fled the fighting or were persuaded to board the Israeli buses waiting to take them to the Allenby Bridge. An estimated number of 100,000 lost their international right to belong to Jerusalem that way. All others present during the census were required to obtain Israeli identity cards, (which do not entitle them to Israeli nationality), within three months.

Not only did the "absentees" lose their residency rights but they also lost their movable and immovable property. Israel

adopted the Absentees Property Law on March 31, 1950, which dispossessed all those who had left Israeli-occupied areas after November 29, 1947 (the date of the U.N. Partition) in the case of non-Palestinian Arab citizen, or, after September 1, 1948, in the case of all Palestinians.

The reaction of the United Nations to the 1967 unilateral measures, for which Israel tried to provide a legal alibi, was swift and unequivocal in declaring them illegal. On July 4, 1967, the U.N. General Assembly adopted Resolution 2253, calling upon Israel to "rescind all measures already taken (and) to desist forthwith from taking any actions which would alter the status of Jerusalem."<sup>42</sup> Ten days later the General Assembly adopted Resolution 2254 (ES-V) deploring Israel's failure to abide by the previous resolution, but most important, emphasizing that the "status of Jerusalem" would not be affected by Israel's unilateral annexation.

The Security Council also adopted Resolution 252 in 1968 declaring the measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem as invalid. As far as the United Nations was concerned, the legal status of Jerusalem was the one governed by General Assembly Resolution 181-II of November 29, 1947, which called for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state, and for the establishment of the City of Jerusalem "as a corpus separatum under a special international regime (which) shall be administered by the United Nations."<sup>43</sup> This resolution, together with 194 of Dec. 11, 1948, continues to constitute international legality with regard to the city, and no subsequent resolution was ever adopted altering that status. In fact, that status was also confirmed by the Security Council in Resolution 267 of July 3, 1969, Resolution 271 of September 15, 1969 and Resolution 298 of September 25, 1971. In each of these resolutions, the Security Council deplored the failure by Israel to abide by previous U.N. resolutions calling for the rescinding of all measures of annexation and alteration of the "status" of Jerusalem.

Prior to the extension of Israeli law to the occupied Arab sector, the Knesset had proclaimed the city as Israel's capital on January 23, 1950, and made the annexation official on July 30, 1980. In doing so, Israel was ignoring Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967, which called on Israel to withdraw to the lines of June 4, 1967. That was consistent with a legal facade.

The Israeli argument, however, has been based on the denial of the existence of the Palestinian people and the assertion that no other state can produce a legal claim to Palestine equal to that of Israel.<sup>44</sup> Israeli jurists pressed the argument that the Jordanian occupation of the city in 1948 was an act of aggression, hence illegal; and that by accepting the "illegal" act, the Palestinians relinquished their right to establish a Palestinian state under U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181-II. Moreover, they maintain that Jordan "again" committed aggression in June 1967 and lost Jerusalem, which had been accorded a special status under resolution 181-II. That resolution, therefore, was "overtaken by events."<sup>45</sup>

This polemical thesis, which denies the fact of occupation, is at the core of the continuing colonization of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem. It was the basis for the Israeli measures which altered the status of Jerusalem, and which themselves were the prelude to the de facto annexation of the West Bank. On December 17, 1967, for example, Israel dropped the term "West Bank" from official usage and adopted the biblical name "Judea and Samaria." To reconfirm that change, Israel introduced another measure on February 19, 1968, according to which the occupied territory was no longer referred to as "enemy territory."<sup>46</sup> The position of the U.N., remains that Jerusalem is occupied territory within the meaning of 1949 Geneva Convention, and in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242. The Israeli measures, however exemplify a willingness to manipulate the law in pursuit of strategic political objectives. They also reflect its tenacity in

defying the world community and creating fait accompli. Gradually but persistently, Israel was able, over a period of quarter of a century, to sway the U.S. position towards its own.

### **COLONIZATION AND JUDAIZATION: GREATER JERUSALEM IN FORMATION**

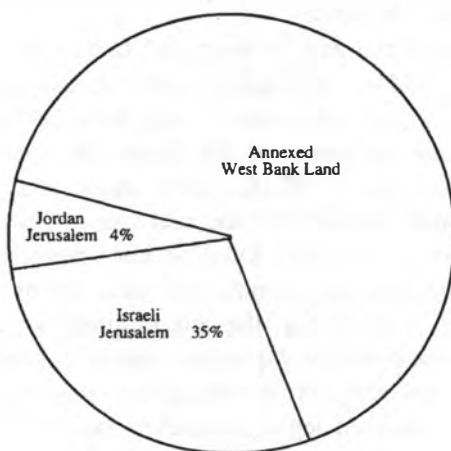
The colonial-settler quality of the Zionist movement is no where better illustrated than in Jerusalem and vicinity. The process of dispossession, displacement, dismemberment, disenfranchisement and dispersal, which was savagely applied to the Palestinians in 1948, was reenacted systematically after 1967. For Jerusalem and its surroundings, the objective was to create a huge Jewish metropolis that would disrupt the existing territorial continuity of the West Bank and preempt any sovereign existence for the Palestinians. That is the position of, the two major blocs in Israel, Likud and Labor, despite apparent and presumed differences.

The territorial and demographic facts thus created, would render all U.N. resolutions on Jerusalem practically superfluous. The colonization and judaization of the area would preclude any return to the status-quo ante, as mandated by Resolution 242. That, much more than the dubious historical claim, account for the real reasons behind the stand that the fate of an "eternal capital" is not a negotiable item. It is not the religious and emotional attachment which make Jerusalem so sacred for the predominantly secular Israeli society; it is the political imperative and the *raison d'etat*.

To operationalize that imperative, Israel mobilized varied resources and utilized legal gimmickry to facilitate the passing of Arab land into Jewish ownership. Expropriation for "public purpose" and for "defense purposes" served the exclusive interests of the Jewish public and helped build Jewish settlements in contravention of international law<sup>47</sup> The first land seizure took place in January 1968 in the Sheikh Jarrah Arab neighborhood of East Jerusalem. (See Table 2) Some

3830 donums of privately owned land there were seized and the new Jewish residential colonies of French Hill, Ma'alot Dafna, Ramat Eshkol and Mount Scopus stand today on that land. In addition 881 donums were seized near the Neve Ya'acov settlement and the Jewish Quarter in the Old City in 1968.

A Second spate of colonization took place in 1970, erecting a belt around East Jerusalem. It involved 12,280 donums used for building Ramot Alon, Rekhes Shoufat, East Talpiot, Gilo, Atarot, Gei Ben Hinom, Jaffa Gate and Ramat Rahel. The belt starts from Northeast Jerusalem at Neve Yaacov to the West in Ramot then Southeast to Gilo. 11,200 Jewish settlers now live on this land, where a bloc of settlements connects West Jerusalem with the Hebrew University and command the important road which connect Jerusalem with Ramallah.



A third wave of colonization, which started in 1980 and is still ongoing, involved the expropriation of 7,250 donums (from land belonging to the villages of Beit Hanina and Shoufat to build the settlements of Pisgat Ze'ev and Pisgat Omer.

According to Khalil Toufakji, during the past 25 years, more than 33 percent or about 24 square kilometers of the expanded Arab East Jerusalem area were confiscated. East Jerusalem which was a mere 6.5 square kilometers or 4% of all of Jerusalem prior to 1967, is now 70.5 square kilometers or 63% of the newly redefined Jerusalem--expanding eleven fold. The land confiscated from the West Bank is now part of non-negotiable Jerusalem, and is not therefore an issue for discussion until the final status negotiations begin.

By the time Bill Clinton assumed the Presidency, "Greater Jerusalem" covered nearly one-fourth of the entire West Bank. An Israeli committee consisting of representatives of the Jerusalem municipality and the ministries of housing and interior had set up a special commission of planners to prepare a master plan for metropolitan Jerusalem by 1993. The area now includes about 40 settlements in addition to the annexed eastern sector of the city. These settlements extend in all directions, reaching Ramallah in the north, a position half way between Hebron and Bethlehem (Gush Etzion) in the South, Ma'ale Adumim settlement in the East, whose municipal boundary was expanded in 1993 all the way to Jericho. These settlements, in essence, annex to Jerusalem, and therefore to Israel, the area from Ramallah to Jericho to Bethlehem.<sup>48</sup>

The commission has been working on plans for transportation, commerce, housing, industry, health, education, water and sewage. A guiding principle of its work is that "Metropolitan Jerusalem" will be a "single district for its entire population," and regardless of any political agreements, the free movement of people, goods, services and capital will be assured." It is significant that the commission's mandate extends over a sizable area of the West Bank, over which Israel has no statutory authority. The current trends in planning support the view that the deferral of Jerusalem to a "final status" issue in the negotiations between Israel and the PLO is an exercise in futility. Nothing in the ongoing work by Israel's planners

would suggest that the comprehensive nature and complementary aspects of these plans would be jeopardized by political agreements. Naturally, Israel is not planning a meticulously constructed metropolis with an expensive and sophisticated infrastructure, only to hand a share of it to the Palestinians on a silver platter in the so-called final status talks. The fate of the city had, in fact, been sealed since it was occupied in June 1967.

Both of Jerusalem's mayors, the Laborite Teddy Kolley, who served for 28 years until 1993, and the current Likudist mayor, Ehud Olmert, are on record with statements that the status of Jerusalem is not negotiable. Teddy Kolley had falsified history when he told President Clinton that Jewish claims in Jerusalem were unique:

In another few years we in Jerusalem will celebrate 3000 years since the construction of the city by King David, whereas the Palestinian claim is less than one generation old.<sup>49</sup>

The plan was in fact unveiled by Kolley's successor, the Likudist Mayor Ehud Olmert on April 25, 1995 as an event commemorating 3000 years of "Jewish Sovereignty" over the city. As stated earlier, the duration of sovereignty is exaggerated by a ratio of five to one, and yet inventing realities has not been much of a problem for a colonialist settler movement trying to operate at the close of the 20th Century with 17th Century ideology. The uncompromising stand of non-negotiability has been supported by every Israeli prime minister since 1967. Ignoring the fact that Jerusalem was classified as a final issue item by the DOP, to be resolved in 1996, Rabin declared the following before the Knesset on September 2, 1993:

This government, like all of its predecessors,

believes there is no disagreement in this House concerning Jerusalem as the eternal capital of Israel. United Jerusalem will not be open to negotiation. It has been and will forever be the capital of the Jewish people, under Israeli sovereignty, a focus of dreams and longing of every Jew.

Rabin's Housing Minister, Benjamin Ben Eliezer announced on the BBC on October 20, 1993 that thousands of new units would be built in East Jerusalem. On the next day the Jerusalem City Council approved a plan to build a housing project on the Mount of Olives in East Jerusalem. And just a few days earlier (October 18th) then Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Gur announced that the settlement city of Ma'ale Adumim (population 18,000), whose boundaries had been expanded by 12,000 acres eastward to Jericho, was included in "Greater Jerusalem." The Municipality of Ma'ale Adumim was then working on a new master plan that would accommodate 50,000 residents on top of another 50,000 targeted in an existing plan.<sup>50</sup>

Israel's policy now is to consolidate settlements in East Jerusalem and all around the city in order to give Jerusalem a unique character distinguishing it from the West Bank. Jerusalem then would become Jewish physically, ethnically, and politically. The closure of the city to Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, ongoing since March 1993, was intended to reinforce that plan and to hasten the foreclosure on the future of the city. The Security Council resolutions, which declared the annexation of East Jerusalem null and void, which have, in turn, prevented international recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, would become in effect hollow.

This has been the strategy behind the pattern of grouping the ever expanding settlements around Jerusalem into blocs. The Ma'ale Adumim bloc, approved in November 1993



comprises seven settlements and cities, which according to the mayor of Ma'ale Adumim, Benny Kashriel, would create a band of housing for Israelis between the East Jerusalem settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev and the Jericho enclave, created for the Palestinians under the Oslo Declaration of Principles (DOP of Sept. 13, 1993).<sup>51</sup> The Gush Etzion bloc is another one in the south, and Giv'at Ze'ev extends Jerusalem strategically in a northwest direction. Gush Etzion has approval for plans targeting 50,000 inhabitants before the end of the century while Giv'at Ze'ev no less than 30,000.<sup>52</sup>

The most recent projects aiming to fill in the gaps in the belt of settlements around Jerusalem are two, one in the Shoufat area and the other in the Abu-Ghoneim region. According to the Israeli press, plans are being made to confiscate land around the Shoufat refugee camp North of Jerusalem. The plan would link the settlements of French Hill and Pisgat Ze'ev at the expense of the Arab villages of Ras Shihada and Ras Khamis.

The Abu-Ghoneim region, is located at the northern border of the Arab town of Beit Sahour, south of Jerusalem. It includes a hill east of Abu-Ghoneim (Abu-Alsokhour) and a plain to the east (Khirbat al-Mazmuriyah). The hilly side was planted with trees and designated as a natural reserve (green area), as a ploy to prevent Arab construction on Arab land. Specifically, the objective was to restrict any expansion of the Arab villages of Sour Baher and Um Toubah. In 1990, the trees were cut down and a project to construct 7500 housing units for Jews on the confiscated land is about to be undertaken. Most of this area, which constitutes approximately 7000 donums, belongs to families in the Arab town of Beit Sahour and the village of Um-Tuba. It was part of the Bethlehem district, but after the 1967 occupation, Israel included all of it in the extended borders of Jerusalem. The current plans for Abu-Ghoneim call for the building of the Har Homa settlement with all the required infrastructure on expropriated land for approximately 35,000 Jewish settlers.

The completion of these projects would finalize the encirclement of East Jerusalem with Jewish settlements on all sides, and would alter the demographic balance decidedly in Israel's favor in East Jerusalem. Not only would they constitute a final step in judaizing East Jerusalem, but would also represent an advanced stage in the Judaization of Bethlehem. Bethlehem would become as vulnerable to the Etzion bloc of settlements as Hebron has been to Kiryat Araba, from which the Brooklyn settler Goldstein and his accomplices launched the Hebron massacre in February 1994. The two projects would assure a Jewish demographic continuity in the Northern and Eastern flanks of Jerusalem. The West Bank would be split into two halves, a northern sector and a Southern sector, both of which thoroughly atomized by Jewish settlements and by-pass road exclusively for Jews.

The fact that the Abu-Ghoneim colonization is taking place since the signing of the Cairo Agreement on May 4, 1994 and the Shoufat project may be taking place since Netanyahu assumed power in June 1996 is rather ominous. It does not bode well for the political future of those Palestinians who look to the PLO agreements with Israel as the means to end occupation, and halt colonization. Worse still, is that under the Cairo agreement, the zoning authority remains in Israeli hands. Unlike Jewish settlements and neighborhoods in the West Bank, Palestinian population centers are, in effect prevented from expanding beyond the areas allotted to them, even though those areas are Palestinian-owned. Such discriminatory zoning was retained under the provisions of the Cairo agreement.<sup>53</sup>

The Abu-Ghoneim area represents the only path for solving a chronic shortage of housing for the residents of Beit Sahour and Um-Tuba. Their requests to build on their own land in the area have all been rejected by the Jerusalem municipality and the Israeli government, despite the fact that the average number of residents in each house in Um-Tuba is 12. Palestinian residents throughout East Jerusalem suffer from

severe housing shortages, and at the same time the expropriation of their privately-owned lands continues unabated.

While Arafat consented to deferring the issue of Jerusalem for the final stage, Israeli bulldozers and cranes have been put to work on the most ambitious project to complete a three-ringed encirclement of Palestinian communities in east Jerusalem. There is the expanding outer ring of Maale Adumim, Gush Etzion, and Giv'at Ze'ev; the intermediate ring of Ramat Shufat, Sheikh Jarrah and Jabal al-Mukabber and Wad al-Jouze; and the inner ring surrounding the old city covers Silwan, Ras al Amoud and the Mount of Olives. The plan aims to reduce the 450,000 Palestinians of the West Bank part of "metropolitan Jerusalem" to a scattered minority in separate enclaves in and around the Israeli de facto Capital. The new infrastructure of highways by-passes many Arab villages and fragments them, making them less cohesive, and jeopardizing their continued existence as single economic and social units.

### **JERUSALEM IN THE U.S. POLITICAL ARENA**

Ever since Israel annexed Jerusalem and enlarged its boundaries, 19 days after its occupation, the status of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, became a matter of major controversy in the U. S. political arena. It would gain prominence at least once every four years, when the matter is elevated to a campaign issue and inevitably picked up by presidential aspirants. Massachusetts Governor, Michael Dukakis, President Bill Clinton and Presidential Republican candidate, Bob Dole were the most recent in a line of succeeding politicians to do Israel's bidding on Jerusalem.. But although the Clinton Administration has effectively acquiesced in the Israeli position, it has not yet formally recognized Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem, nor has it recognized West Jerusalem as Israel's capital. That however, seems to be a

matter of time; Clinton is the first U. S. President who did not question the fact that East Jerusalem is occupied territory and that the settlements around Jerusalem, which constitute about 25 percent of the West Bank, are illegal under international law.

The issue is also activated occasionally by U.N. resolutions criticizing Israeli measures, such as what happened in 1980, when the Carter administration voted in the Security Council to condemn Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories, "including Jerusalem." Having provoked an uproar in the midst of the presidential primary campaign, the U.S. vote, which was cast on a Friday, was disavowed by Carter on the following Monday.

A subsequent wrangling controversy over the status of Jerusalem had taken place in the American political arena on March 3, 1990, when President George Bush was questioned about a statement made by Secretary of State James Baker in congressional testimony two days earlier. Baker had said that he would seek assurances that \$400 million, requested by Israel for housing new immigrants, would not be used in the Occupied Territories. Actually Baker was testifying about foreign aid in general before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, in which he also enraged Israel and its domestic supporters by suggesting an across-the-board reduction of aid in order to help new U.S. clients in Nicaragua and Panama and to bolster the new anti-communist regimes in eastern Europe.<sup>54</sup> The impact of that suggestion would have fallen heaviest on Israel, being the top recipient of U.S. aid, and together with the implied threat to reopen the Jerusalem file, Baker's statement was bound to mobilize U.S.-Israeli supporters against the Administration. In fact, when President Bush was asked on the next day during a news conference in Palm Springs, California whether he would make U.S. aid for the re-settlement of Soviet Jews contingent on Israel's agreement to refrain from housing them in West Bank settlements, he went out of his way to assert that Jerusalem would also be included

in the ban:

My position is that the foreign policy of the United States says we do not believe there should be new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem. And I will conduct that policy as if it's firm, which it is, and I will be shaped in whatever decisions we make to see whether people can comply with that policy. And that's our strongly held view, and we think it's constructive to peace—the peace process, too—if Israel will follow that view. And so there is division in Israel on this question, incidentally. Parties are divided on it. But this is the position of the United States and I'm not going to change that position.<sup>55</sup>

Not unexpectedly, the added emphasis on East Jerusalem by the President, absent throughout the Reagan era, was assaulted by the major American Zionist organizations, the Israeli government, and U.S. legislators. Their major concern was the clear implication in the President's statement that East Jerusalem was occupied territory." The President, however, was simply reiterating U.S. policy and reaffirming the U.S. obligation under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, in his capacity as chief diplomat and chief executive. As chief executive, he has a constitutional responsibility to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Moreover, his solemn pledge to "protect and defend the Constitution," includes the Geneva Conventions, among other treaties, encompassed in the "supreme law of the land" (Article VI of the U.S. Constitution). And yet, he was vigorously attacked by so many constitutionally minded politicians when he was merely reaffirming U.S. policy and legal commitments.

The apparent quandary emanated from the fact that the United States has maintained two asymmetric positions on Jerusalem sheltered in ambiguity. There was a presumed policy

and a symbolic position. When the latter is highlighted, it would set off a controversy and generates clarifications, retractions, and confirmations, casting even thicker clouds over the two positions and creating additional confusion.

President Bush was rebuked mostly for having indirectly questioned his predecessor's presumed policy, which was to push the U.S. symbolic position to the sidelines while giving unqualified support for Israel's policy that Jerusalem must never again be divided. President Reagan's policy was also shrouded in the cliché that the city's "final status should be determined through negotiations," and as long as U.S.-sponsored negotiations in the Middle East remained sterile, that policy effectively paralleled the status quo, i.e. Israel's annexation. Bush's statement on March 3, 1990 was therefore feared for its potential to reopen an issue that was considered closed and secure. It had threatened to becloud the ambiguity of the Reagan period, and was consequently further attacked because of its potential to create an unacceptable balance between the presumed policy and the symbolic position. President Bush was apparently guilty of attempting to deviate from an unwritten U.S.-Israeli agreement to violate international law. hence his numerous critics, including a former judge, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine), utilized strictly political arguments, paying no attention whatsoever to legal or moral principles.

### **THE SYMBOLIC POSITION AND THE PRESUMED POLICY**

The United States tacitly agreed with the majority of the world by abstaining in the vote on U.S. General Assembly Resolution 2253 of July 4, 1967, calling on Israel to rescind the annexation and enlargement of Jerusalem's boundaries in violation of Resolution 181. The United States again abstained on U.N. General Assembly Resolution 2254 of July 14, 1967, which "deplores Israel's failure to implement General Assembly

resolution 2253," and "reiterates its call to Israel...to rescind all measures...which would alter the status of Jerusalem." The U.S. implied association with that broad consensus was strengthened when Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, calling for Israeli withdrawal to the boundaries of June 4, 1967, became a cornerstone of U.S. Middle East policy.

U.S. association with the international consensus on this issue, however, had undergone serious transformation during the past two decades and came to a dead halt when President Reagan ventured into the area of jurisprudence with the original, albeit inane ruling, that Israeli settlements were not illegal. Meanwhile, Israel managed to keep the question of settlements in the enlarged boundaries of Jerusalem, i.e. on Arab land confiscated since June 1967, outside the general discourse on settlements, whose total population stands at 310,000. Thus the Jewish settlers in that area were not included in the contrived statistics on settlers in general, which stand now at 140,000, up from 112,000 when Rabin was elected in 1992 and double the number in 1990, when Shamir could easily claim that less than 1 percent of the new immigrants were settled in "occupied territories," when in fact 11 percent live in 15 settlements in occupied East Jerusalem. For the first time ever, the Jewish population of East Jerusalem exceeds that of the Arab Population. It now stands at 170,000 with the near-term outlook favoring rapid Jewish population growth. It is interesting to note that the Jewish population in East Jerusalem in June 1967 stood at zero.

Slowly, but steadily, as U.S. adherence to the withdrawal clause of U.N. Resolution 242 changed its focus from the letter to the spirit of the resolution, and as the Israeli-U.S. special relationship was institutionalized and eventually transformed into a strategic alliance, under Reagan, the issue of Jerusalem became largely dormant. The American association with international legality was reduced to the symbolic level, and

would be occasionally upheld during U.N. rituals, which have almost no substantive effect on the real situation. With the advent of the Clinton Administration, even the rituals were dropped.

As U.S. ambassador to the United Nations in 1971, George Bush had a chance to participate in the formalities on Jerusalem. On September 25, 1971, he reaffirmed Ambassador Charles Yost's 1969 statement that Jerusalem is "occupied territory and thereby subject to the provisions of international law governing the rights and obligations of an occupying power."<sup>56</sup> He also decried Israel's failure to acknowledge its obligations as contrary to the "letter and spirit" of the Fourth Geneva Convention and cautioned against adverse effect on the "eventual disposition of the occupied section of Jerusalem." Although the Bush statement was strong and forthright, it nevertheless, contributed to the process leading toward a presumed U.S. policy:

But an Israeli occupation policy made up of unilaterally determined practices cannot help promote a just and lasting peace any more than that cause was served by the status quo in Jerusalem prior to June 1967, which I want to make clear, we did not like and we do not advocate reestablishing.<sup>57</sup>

The statement by Ambassador Bush made it clear that the United States was dissatisfied with the division of Jerusalem and preferred unification. But while U.S. policy makers continued to reject Israeli sovereignty over the city and to hold that its final status must be negotiated, they looked the other way while Israel completed the physical and legal steps which left nothing to negotiate about. When Israel dissolved the East Jerusalem Municipal Council on June 29, 1967, expelled the Arab Mayor, Rouhi Al-Khatib, expropriated Arab land surrounding



Jerusalem, demolished Arab homes, and built an expansive network of suburbs in accordance with the Master Plan for Greater Jerusalem, the United States invoked its symbolic position, but did nothing to effect a halt of the unilateral measures by Israel. It stood idly by when Israel employed the euphemism "controlled territories" to avoid the internationally recognized obligations of an occupying power under the 1907 Hague Convention and the 1949 Geneva Convention. It paid no attention when Prime Minister Levi Eshkol declared Jerusalem, "by the grace of the unfolding of Jewish history," to be the "whole and sovereign capital" of Israel.<sup>58</sup> Nor did the United States threaten to reassess its economic, military, or diplomatic underwriting of Israel when Israel moved ministerial and other government offices to East Jerusalem, placing the United States in the position of aiding and abetting serious violations of international law. Moreover, the 1969 and 1974 Israeli-sponsored elections in the city demonstrated the separateness between the two parts of the city when no Arab candidates and less than 10 percent of the eligible Arab voters took part; and yet the United States continued to uphold the fiction of unity as the logical alternative to division.

Two decades which witnessed a decisive and determined Israeli effort to make Jerusalem "an emphatically Jewish city" and an "eternal capital" with U.S. acquiescence convinced most Israelis and their U.S. supporters that Israel could rely on U.S. support for keeping Jerusalem. And since the Camp David accords, which introduced the concept of autonomy, that assumption was extended to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as well. Any lingering doubts about that probability were dispelled by eight years of uncritical support under Reagan and Shultz.

By contrast, the March 1990 statements by Baker and Bush unleashed tremors, which seemed to disrupt the harmonious atmosphere, which prevailed under Reagan. These statements simply called in the symbolic position as a means of

pressure to resuscitate a peace process facing a death sentence by its original author—Yitzhak Shamir.<sup>59</sup> No one, of course, was under any illusion that Bush's statement entailed the possibility of a change in the U.S. Jerusalem policy: What was at issue was whether the presumed policy would be allowed to continue with no inhibitions or encumbrances whatsoever, and that no precedents would be allowed to modify it, even when U.S. national interests might dictate such modifications. In short, President Bush's comment was seen as a possible interruption of ten years of U.S. acquiescence in Israeli plans for Jerusalem.

### **THE CHALLENGE AND THE OUTCOME**

The statement by President Bush triggered the inevitable battle in the American public opinion arena. The lineup of forces pitted Shamir's caretaker government, the U.S. Zionist lobby, and the U.S. Congress against the president of the United States.

Israel's Ambassador to the United States, Moshe Arad leveled severe criticism at George Bush in a Washington speech to the United Jewish Appeal on March 13, 1990, saying that Bush's statement harmed the peace process, at least in the short run, because of the political crisis it triggered in Israel.<sup>60</sup> Another embassy official, Oded Aran, expressed anxiety about the future of U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation, nurtured carefully during eight years of Reagan's presidency. He said that there was a lurking threat to the Arrow missile project, a joint U.S.-Israeli enterprise.<sup>61</sup> Shamir's defiance of Bush was expressed in a statement to American-Jewish fund raisers on March 4, 1990 in which he said "there are no settlements in Jerusalem...it is part of Israel and it will never be divided again."<sup>62</sup> It was also dramatized in the April 2, 1990 decision to begin the construction of four settlements on confiscated Arab land north of Jerusalem.

## **CONGRESS AND THE 1990 JERUSALEM CONTROVERSY**

Mr. Bush was also the target of some powerful salvos delivered by Senate majority Leader Mitchell. "Heavy-handed blunder" was the way Senator George Mitchell referred to Bush's comment. Mitchell accused Bush of undermining the "peace process" through "insensitivity or conscious provocation", of having contributed to the fall of the Shamir government, and of "casting doubt upon America's intentions and role in promoting peace in the Middle East."<sup>63</sup> The Arab-American senator, who has been a recipient of Jewish political-action committee (PAC) money, added:

There was simply no reason to suddenly thrust into the forefront of debate the issue of Jewish Israelis' rights to live in East Jerusalem...certainly the status of East Jerusalem must be decided as part of a negotiated, comprehensive peace. But the president's comments served no purpose but to impede progress toward establishing the very process needed to resolve this issue.<sup>64</sup>

At the same time the campaign against Bush was sweeping the U.S. Senate in the aftermath of the majority leader's harsh rebuke. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York) who often sponsors pro-Israel resolutions with Senator Jesse Helms, dutifully pushed concurrent Resolution 106 through the Senate, securing approval by voice vote on March 22, 1990. A similar resolution declaring Jerusalem as Israel's capital was also adopted by the House on April 24th.<sup>65</sup>

Giving full credence to the Israeli position on Jerusalem, which has been at variance with the accepted view throughout the international community, the resolution begins thus:

"whereas the State of Israel has declared Jerusalem

to be its capital"

And in total disregard for historical facts or the simple requirements of accuracy, it continues:

"whereas from 1948 to 1967, Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths were not permitted access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan;

"whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city administered by Israel and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city"

The congressional view of Jerusalem, which paralleled the official Israeli position, and was at apparent variance with the U.S. government position, was made clear in the fifth "whereas":

"whereas ambiguous statements by the government of the United States concerning the right of Jews to live in all parts of Jerusalem raise concern in Israel that Jerusalem might one day be redivided and access to religious sites in Jerusalem denied to Israeli citizens.

The Senate and the House then, resolved that Congress

1) "acknowledges that Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel;"

2) "strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city..."

An interesting rebuttal of the congressional endeavor was mounted by the Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, who had signed the concurrent resolution but took the Senate floor on April 19, 1990 to announce: "I made a mistake... I bear a personal responsibility here... I should have said more loudly:

'Wait a second, let's look at this'. I certainly shouldn't have signed on this resolution."<sup>66</sup> Having just returned from a trip that took him to Jerusalem, among other places in the Middle East, where he was questioned repeatedly about Resolution 106, Dole set aside the usual restraints which politicians observe when speaking on the Middle East. He said on the Senate floor:

Senate Concurrent Resolution 106 deals with one of the most sensitive and emotional issues in the Middle East...(it) declares Jerusalem the capital of Israel-the position of the Israeli government; a position 180 degrees contrary to the views of the Arab states and the Palestinians. Most important, the resolution declares on an issue that our government and many outside observers see as better left to negotiations among the parties involved, rather than decided by unilateral action.<sup>67</sup>

He considered it wrong for the Senate to plunge into a sensitive issue and without debate more than half the sponsors sign on during the first 24 hours while the other forty members join in on the second day. He reflected on the fact that he was among the hasty and careless signers and expressed regret and perhaps contempt for such ad hoc methods of decision-making: "So we're all wrong. The process is wrong. And the results can be very damaging", he said.

He was publicly criticized by his Republican colleague Newt Gingrich an ardent supporter of Israel at a specially convened press conference. He particularly resented Gingrich's labeling of him as "anti-Israel." In a toughly worded letter to the future speaker of the House, the future Senate Majority leader wrote:

Unfortunately if you disagree with a single policy or practice of the Israeli government, or criticize

anyone who lobbies on behalf of Israel, you should be characterized as "anti-Israel." That is bunk, and I am surprised that you have joined in the narrow but shrill chorus of the people who take that tack.<sup>68</sup>

When Dole was asked on April 22 on television to comment on Gingrich's attack against him at a public press conference, he said: "Ah, Newt was trying to make a few Brownie points with AIPAC." Ironically, as later Republican presidential front-runner, Bob Dole delivered a speech before AIPAC's Policy Conference on May 8, 1995 in which he himself tried to collect bigger brownies by announcing a bill that would force a move of the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, against the wishes of the Clinton Administration and even the Robin government.

Reacting to Dole's pandering, the *U.S.A. Today* commented editorially this way:

What a deplorable way of tossing gasoline on two bonfires simultaneously. The move was a blatant ploy for American Jewish support. Only it may be backfiring. Some Jewish leaders see the bill as an untimely appeal to extremists.

*The Forward*, a New York-based Jewish weekly called Dole's attempt to upstage Clinton "laughable were it not so blatant a play for positioning in the coming primaries."<sup>69</sup>

Meanwhile returning to the 1990 controversy the House action on the 1990 Resolution was initiated by Edward Feighan (D-Ohio), Dan Burton (R-Indiana), and Newt Gingrich (R-Georgia) who called a special order session attended by 47 members. That led to a full session, which endorsed H. Resolution 290 by a roll call vote of 378 against 34 and 6 abstentions. It was identical to Senate Resolution 106. It should be pointed out that the House resolution was voted on

with the House rules suspended, which meant that debate was severely limited and no amendments were allowed. Such procedure is normally used when the resolutions in question are "non-controversial." Obviously, resolution 290 was very controversial. It should also be pointed out that these "sense of the Congress" resolutions are not binding on the Administration and do not reflect official and long-standing U.S. policy. They are known in Congressional parlance as "throw away" resolutions because their signers know that they have no legal standing and yet will help endear them to special interests. They have been utilized, however, by the pro-Israel lobby repeatedly in their campaigns to convey "public" sentiments in support of their policy agenda, and to pressure the executive branch.

The consequent denial of self-determination for the Palestinian people, which this resolution implied, was in sharp contrast to the Senate action on Lithuanian self-determination. Also, most of its signers from both the House and the Senate had supported the Security Council resolutions, which called Iraq's occupation illegal and called for their implementation. But double standards on various domestic and foreign issues are more the rule than the exception in Congress. Israel is apparently an exception when issues pertaining to the application of international law are raised.

### **MEDIA ASSAULT**

Joining in the 1990 campaign against the Bush Administration were the major Jewish-American organizations and the *New York Times* as well as the *Washington Post*. William Safire's diatribe against Bush was so venomous it hardly omitted any conceivable accusation. His blatant distortion of historical fact and his propensity for inventing reality were expressed in such a way that left no distinction between responsible journalism and hollow propaganda:

Mr. Bush, by extending his anathema on "settlements" to a portion of Israel's capital, is the first to raise the prospect of a divided Jerusalem. Mr. Bush pretends that his bombshell, which brought down the Likud Government, is no change in U.S. policy; that legalistic half-truth fools nobody.<sup>70</sup>

His hyperbole went to the extent of misrepresenting the enforcement of international law on Jerusalem as a potential genocide for Jews:

Come the first pogrom, which God forbid, who in the Bush White House will accept responsibility for failing to facilitate the new exodus while there was little time?

Who among supporters of Israel will step forward on some future Passover and admit they were so caught up with the "peace process" that they refused to confront the real possibility of a death process.<sup>71</sup>

Safire's colleague, A.M. Rosenthal parroted the Israeli position as well:

There have been no Jewish "settlements" in Jerusalem, as Mayor Teddy Kollek noted. The very use of the word "settlement" to describe Jews moving into Jewish neighborhoods in Jerusalem is insulting.<sup>72</sup>

The *Washington Post's* news stories on the controversy, though more subtle than Safire's prose, sounded more like editorials than news reporting.<sup>73</sup>

Stripped to its essentials, the criticism by the anti-Bush coalition rested on two spurious arguments: first, that the president's comment undermined the "peace process," when in



fact it was Shamir who failed to meet the Labor party's deadline on the Baker Plan; and second, the implicit notion that the Reagan-Shultz policy was almost tantamount to customary law or practice, and thus ought not be challenged.

### **BUSH CAVES IN**

Although the president had risen to the occasion by having insist that he was "reiterating U.S. policy" and by having deliver an unqualified "no" to the question of whether he regretted raising the issue, he eventually found it necessary to concede in a peaceful conclusion to the controversy. Initially, Bush had insisted that his remark was consistent with the U.S. position for 22 years. State Department spokesperson, Margaret Tutwiler had been instructed to say that, and to confirm that the United States defined the occupied territories as including all the land seized by Israel in 1967.<sup>74</sup> But in less than two weeks from the start of the controversy, Bush began to equivocate and "clarify" under pressure. He dispatched a letter to the Israeli mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, saying "there is no intention on our part to focus now on the final status of Jerusalem."<sup>75</sup> That letter produced instant praise from the director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who said:

The president put this issue on the front burner through his statement in California, and now with this letter, he is putting it on the back burner.<sup>76</sup>

The president's fence-mending also included an earlier assurance which he communicated to Seymour Reich, the president of the Conference of Presidents of American Jewish Organizations, on March 6, 1990 that "U.S. policy toward Jerusalem is unchanged."<sup>77</sup>

Moreover, White House Chief of Staff, John Sununu told representatives of the Wiesenthal Center, which is concerned

with study of the Holocaust, that the administration's policy on the city is unchanged and that the United States does not oppose Jews living in predominantly Arab East Jerusalem. Implying that the president may have been misunderstood, Sununu added: "Statements on other issues, which unfortunately may have been mixed together, do not impact on the (Jerusalem issue)."<sup>78</sup>

Far from clarifying U.S. policy on Jerusalem, the controversy of March 1990 had not only failed in that task, but; in fact, clouded U.S. policy in more ambiguity. George Bush had attempted to demystify it by redefining the presumed policy. But he ended up in taking cover under the umbrella of the symbolic position. That controversy, however, helped create the milieu which eventually facilitated U.S. virtual embrace of the Israeli position in the mid-nineties.

### **THE JERUSALEM QUESTION DURING CLINTON'S PRESIDENCY**

The reaction of the Clinton Administration and the U.S. Congress to Israel's illegal and unilateral measures, which have effectively foreclosed the Oslo option of "final status," has been one of unusual toleration if not of outright complicity.

Since 1967, U.S. policy has officially been that East Jerusalem is part of the occupied territories. That policy, however, which was watered down in 1990, under intense pressure from the Israeli government, its Washington lobby as well as from pro-Israel legislators, all of which intimidated President Bush, is undergoing a serious change under the Clinton Administration.

The first visible sign of a shifting U.S. policy on Jerusalem appeared in the State Department's Declaration of Principles of June 30, 1993 (not to be confused with the Oslo DOP). That paper, it will be recalled, embodied the Clinton Administration's ideas on how to resolve the impasse in the "peace process" after 22 months of futile negotiations between

Israel and a Palestinian delegation in Washington. For the first time, the United States hinted broadly that it considered the occupied territories as "disputed," a term which bears close proximity to the Israeli position. By that time, the battle over the \$10 billion loan guarantees to Israel had been concluded. The Bush Administration had reached an accord, which did not obligate Israel to halt settlement activity. U.S. officials were no longer scrutinizing expenditure on settlement activity in and around Jerusalem. After the "historic handshake" on the White House lawn on September 13, 1993 between Arafat and Rabin, all discussion of settlement building in East Jerusalem, between the U.S. and Israel had in fact, come to a dead halt. Israeli Housing Minister Benjamin Eliezer, admitted after meeting with top officials from the Clinton Administration in Washington in November 1993, that the subject had never even come up in their talks: "They didn't ask and I didn't tell them," he said, according to AIPAC's newsletter Near East Report.<sup>79</sup>

The Clinton Administration has embraced Israel's position on Jerusalem in a manner which contradicts previous U.S. commitments, including the letter of assurance to the Palestinians, which was an essential component of the basis for Palestinian participation in the Madrid peace talks and the process emanating therefrom. The letter dated October 24, 1991 expressed the following clear position on Jerusalem:

The United States is opposed to the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem and the extension of Israeli law on it and the expansion of Jerusalem's municipal boundaries. We encourage all sides to avoid unilateral acts that would exacerbate local tensions or make negotiations more difficult or preempt their outcome.<sup>80</sup>

And yet, the Administration no longer discourages the Israeli expropriation of West Bank land for the enlargement of

Jerusalem and the building of illegal settlements on that land. In fact, the issue of settlement construction in the vicinity of Jerusalem or elsewhere is no longer on its agenda.

Geoffrey Aronson, a well-informed settlement expert, described the new shift this way:

The U.S. is "no longer maintaining its historical policy of opposing unilateral actions-such as Israeli settlements-that are aimed at determining the final status of Jerusalem. Indeed, Pelletreau refused to characterize settlement per se as a unilateral action prejudicial to Jerusalem's final status."<sup>81</sup>

In addition, the U.S. had begun in March 1993 to overlook the expansion of settlements, mainly taking place around Jerusalem under Rabin and Peres, due to "natural growth," yet another euphemism used by the Clinton Administration to effect its changed policies.

Bill Clinton was also the first President who actually moved towards translating campaign rhetoric on Jerusalem into policy. He told American Jewish leaders on March 13, 1994 that he opposed any reference to Jerusalem as occupied territory and that he would adhere to his campaign promise to support the Israeli view of Jerusalem as the "eternal capital."<sup>82</sup> Vice-President Al Gore, who developed close ties to the Likud Party and to Christian Zionists in the United States when he was a member of the U.S. Senate, told AIPAC's annual policy conference on the same day the following:

I want to assure you at this critical moment, that the President and I have not forgotten the meaning of Jerusalem.<sup>83</sup>

The March 1994 session of the U.N. Security Council in the wake of the Hebron massacre, was considered as the litmus

test for Clinton and Gore with regard to Jerusalem. The U.N. Ambassador, Madeleine Albright had signaled a clear shift in U.S. policy in Jerusalem when she expressed reservations during the Security Council debate with regard to the phrase "occupied territories, including Jerusalem". Former chair of the Europe and Middle East Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Representative Hamilton (D-Ind.) questioned Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau on that shift in policy during formal hearings.<sup>84</sup> He said referring to that phrase: "Tell me what was the problem, from the Administration's point of view, with that formulation?" Pelletreau's answer was totally disingenuous: The term used by six previous administrations was "neither necessary nor appropriate," in view of the fact that the Oslo accord postponed Jerusalem for final status negotiations, as if Oslo has changed the status of Jerusalem from "occupied" to something yet to be determined. Hamilton then asked: "Okay. So you don't want to characterize Jerusalem, then-that's the point-after the Declaration of Principles? Is that right?" Pelletreau's answer was simply: "That is right".

The original draft, which condemned the massacre and referred to Jerusalem as "occupied territory", seemed acceptable to all members of the Council and, for strictly tactical reasons, to the Rabin government and the Clinton Administration despite Albright's "reservations". As a sign of changing times, Rabin had reportedly demanded that AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations "neither protest the inclusion of Jerusalem in [the resolution] nor try to mobilize support in Congress for an American veto of the resolution."<sup>85</sup>

Apparently, Rabin and Clinton had pragmatically accepted the original draft with the controversial reference to Jerusalem as the price for resuming peace talks in the wake of the massacre and the bellicose threat by the PLO to suspend its participation in the talks. They did not want to jeopardize the "peace process," which for them was too much of a good deal to

pass up. Another proforma condemnation by the U.N. would simply be an addition to a long list of ineffectual U.N. documents, thanks to an impenetrable U.S. diplomatic shield. Nevertheless, Rabin was unable to control the American Jewish lobby, while Clinton was unable to control Congress. Despite Rabin's reported urgings, AIPAC's annual conference adopted a position, contrary even to that of its own President Steven Grossman, in favor of condemning the U.N. resolution. There was considerable lobbying on Capitol Hill by Jewish organizations and Congress was inclined to press for a veto of the resolution. So intense was the lobbying, in fact, that Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who was on a visit to Japan during the Council session, had received a telephone call from Lester Pollack, Chairman of the Council of presidents of Major Jewish Organizations requesting assurances that Jerusalem would not appear in the resolution. According to Pollack, Christopher "made it abundantly clear that any effort to prejudice the status of Jerusalem would be met with opposition from the U.S. government."<sup>86</sup> Meanwhile, Congress, in defiance of Clinton and Rabin called on President Clinton to veto the resolution. The Senate passed a resolution on March 17, 1994 by voice vote and attached it to an unrelated banking bill. It urged the Administration to veto any U.N. resolution that "states or implies that Jerusalem is 'occupied' territory."<sup>87</sup>

Letters were also sent by 81 Senators and 29 Representatives urging a veto. The Senators asked the President to oppose "biased and counterproductive language" in the U.N. resolution. It stated:

Clearly, the United States understands that Jerusalem is a 'final status' issue to be negotiated between the parties. The United States must not be party to attempts to prejudice this issue through United Nations Security Council resolutions.

Apparently, the signers of the letter did not consider the building of 15 Israeli settlements which became home for 162,000 illegal settlers on confiscated land in Arab East Jerusalem as an act that prejudged the final status negotiations.

Their colleagues in the House did not even have to resort to that disingenuous formula; they did the prejudging themselves in conformity with the Israeli position. Their letter to Clinton of July 25, 1994 left very little doubt where the signers really stood on the issue:

Jerusalem is the indivisible capital of Israel, and must remain united under sole Israeli sovereignty.

Both, House and Senate moved to prohibit any new offices or official meetings in Jerusalem to deal with the Palestinian Authority, which was created by the "Gaza-Jericho First" accord on May 4, 1994. Their objective is clearly to prevent any Palestinian symbols of sovereignty in Jerusalem and to render any Palestinian claims illegitimate. To that end they asked the Clinton Administration not to open offices in Jerusalem to manage aid to the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and Jericho.

It is rather significant that the House signatories of the letter cited recent Israeli legislation on Jerusalem as a basis for U.S. policy, thereby ignoring not only international law, but also U.S. policies of a long standing:

"We note that the government of Yitzhak Rabin has approved new legislation that will prohibit both the PLO and the Palestinian Authority from maintaining offices and conducting business in Jerusalem.

In light of these developments, we are very concerned about actions by the U.S. government that could give any credibility to Palestinian claims on Jerusalem...

Jerusalem is the capital of only one country, Israel,

and we urge you to implement a policy that does not in any way support a Palestinian claim to the city."<sup>88</sup>

The pro-Israel congressional establishment was able to secure sponsorships for the House letter from John Lewis, a ranking member of the Black caucus, and from Newt Gingrich, the House Majority Leader, who later became Speaker of the House after the mid-term elections of 1994. The two other sponsors were Bill Saxton and Charles Schumer, regular supporters of Israeli positions.

The House letter did not even leave room for the subtle nuances, nor did it invoke the new diplomatic gimmickry about prejudging a "final status" issue, which became the hallmark of the Clinton Administration. It simply parroted the Israeli position; and yet Congress, this time, did the novel thing of "out-Israeling" the Israeli government.<sup>89</sup>

Perhaps, it is a sign of the times, when a number of U.S. politicians seem to be intent on making desperate attempts to retain their pro-Israel credentials before voters, when the Israeli government itself is negotiating with the PLO, and indeed lobbying for U.S. aid to Arafat's Palestine Authority.

Even before these letters were sent, domestic pressure had proven its worth. The Executive branch, which normally defends its foreign policy turf, was forced to bow to pressure from the Jewish community and from Congress. When the vote on the controversial resolution finally came before the Security Council, U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright insisted that the resolution be voted on paragraph by paragraph, a rather unprecedented procedure. She abstained from voting on two Jerusalem paragraphs, and threatened to veto future U.N. resolutions which might embody similar language. Reaffirming the new policy enunciated in the State Department's Declaration of Principles of June 30, 1993, she said:



We simply do not support the description of territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war as 'occupied Palestinian territory.' In the view of my government, this language could be taken to indicate sovereignty—a matter which both Israel and the PLO have agreed must be decided in negotiations on the final status of the territories.<sup>90</sup>

To demonstrate this undeclared shift in U.S. policy on Jerusalem, Albright said that she would have vetoed the entire resolution had the reference to Jerusalem as occupied territory appeared in the operative paragraph, which the U.S. ostensibly supports:

The United States supports the operative paragraph of the resolution... However, we sought a paragraph-by-paragraph vote...because we wanted to record our objections to language introduced there. Had this language appeared in the operative paragraph...let me be clear—we would have exercised our veto. In fact, we are today voting against a resolution in the Commission on the Status of Women precisely because it implies that Jerusalem is occupied Palestinian territory.<sup>91</sup>

In fact, Albright, made good on her promise to use the veto on May 17, 1995, when all other fourteen members of the Security Council supported a draft resolution describing the Israeli intent to seize 140 acres of Arab land in the villages of Beit Hanina and Beit Safafa as merely "unhelpful." It was the 30th veto by the U.S., but this time it was on behalf of illegal land seizure in the vicinity of Jerusalem. According to Donald Neff, sources told him that the veto was used at the insistence of Albright when the consensus in the State Department was to abstain given the mild language of the resolution and the absence of a condemnation.<sup>92</sup> Albright's ambitions for the position of Secretary of State had already become fairly known.

She considered AIPAC as the principal avenue to Foggy Bottom. Her appointment has indeed vindicated that assumption.

Earlier, Albright had taken an important step towards changing U.S. policy when she sent a letter to all member states of the U.N. General Assembly in August 8, 1994 suggesting that the Assembly session, scheduled to open in September, drop from its Middle East resolutions language dealing with matters still to be negotiated. That would include resolutions on Jerusalem and all other issues classified by the Oslo process as "final-status" issues. Her letter states:

We...believe that resolution language referring to 'final status' issues should be dropped, since these issues are now under negotiations by the parties themselves.

Should Albright get her way on the Jerusalem question and all other final status issues, a new global consensus based on the supremacy of the Oslo and Cairo agreements as the effective framework of an Arab-Israeli settlement, would supplant the U.N. resolutions which constituted international legality for the past 48 years. Jerusalem would be a principal casualty as U.S. policy becomes practically a substitute for international law. Albright's letter to U.N. members considered all resolutions on Palestine as "irrelevant, contentious and obstacle."

Further efforts by Congress to bolster Israeli plans for Jerusalem, including the elimination of any Arab political presence—manifest or implied—in the city, were undertaken also in August 1994. In addition to the amendments which were tacked onto the FY95 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, which jeopardized PLO funding, a further amendment was added by the right-wing fundamentalist, Senator Helms (R-NC), who assumed the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign

Relations committee in 1994, and the liberal Senator, Daniel Moynihan (D-NY). It prohibits U.S. officials from holding meetings in Jerusalem with any member of the Palestinian Authority. It also prohibits the establishment of any U.S. offices for the purpose of conducting business with the Palestinians, on the grounds that such offices could give credence to the Palestinian claims of sovereignty over the eastern part. In late July 1994, after a congressional outcry and Israeli government pressure, the Clinton Administration withdrew plans to open an Agency for International Development branch office in East Jerusalem which would oversee the disbursement of funds to the Palestinian Authority. Perhaps the boldest action so far by congressional members are two pending bills introduced in May, 1995 in both houses by Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich that would require the U.S. to begin actual construction in 1996 for an embassy building and to move the embassy from Tel Aviv by May 31, 1999.<sup>93</sup> It is ironic that the land on which the embassy would be built is actually the property of the Islamic Endowment's administration (Waqf). The action by Dole and Gingrich, which was preceded by a letter bearing the signatures of 93 senators out of 100, urging Secretary of State Christopher to move the embassy by May 1996, is considered unwelcome by both Clinton and Rabin, but only for tactical reasons. Clinton's opposition was based on his fear that U.S. diplomacy would suffer rather than on any concern over legality. Such a decision would have had an adverse effect on their investment in the "peace process," and yet Clinton had to ponder being placed in the untenable position of having to oppose the bill, thereby losing votes to Bob Dole. The Administration's position was expressed in a letter by Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Bob Dole, dated June 20, 1995.<sup>93</sup> The letter made it crystal clear that the Administration's opposition stemmed from two factors--the first is diplomatic--the second, constitutional, but nothing is said

about the illegality of it under international law. Thus Christopher made his first point this way:

There is no issue related to the Arab-Israeli negotiations that is more sensitive than Jerusalem. It is precisely for this reason that any effort by Congress to bring it to the forefront is ill-advised and potentially very damaging to the success of the peace process.

Christopher then emphasized his awareness of the deep feeling which exists in Congress about moving the embassy to Jerusalem, but he quickly reminded Dole and the pro-Israel voting public that the President was at least one step ahead of Dole when he pledged during the 1992 campaign to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. He wrote:

The President expressed himself on this issue during the 1992 campaign and he stands by that position. But he also said at that time....that he would not take any step that would disrupt the negotiating process...

Christopher's constitutional reason for opposing S770 was expressed thusly:

The Justice Department's office of legal counsel has issued an opinion...concluding that the bill would unconstitutionally invade exclusive presidential authorities in the field of foreign affairs. Because the bill would seek to compel the President to build and open an embassy at a particular site for foreign policy reasons, it is incompatible with the separation of powers under the Constitution...

Congress went one step further in applying restrictions on the executive branch. Various members of Congress had earlier

expressed outrage at Arafat's call in South Africa for "Jihad" to liberate Jerusalem. Senator DeConcini, for example placed the following restrictions on President Clinton:

[He should make it] very clear that the U.S. is not part of a peace accord, a peace process, or a statement of principles that talks about the liberation of Jerusalem. That is not part of the agreement. It is my understanding that under the accords the status of Jerusalem would be discussed, but it is not part of the agreement that there would be any pullout by the Israelis.<sup>95</sup>

The Clinton Administration, which needed no prodding on the question of Jerusalem, tried to outdo Congress in September 1994 by applying financial leverage against the Palestinian Authority (PA), headed by Yasir Arafat, in order to gain concessions for Israel on the status of Jerusalem. On September 13, 1994, Yasir Arafat was compelled to drop his insistence that some international donor assistance be allocated for Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem, which Israel regards as a section of its capital and in which the Palestinian Authority has no jurisdiction. The agreement, which was reached by Arafat and Shimon Peres, after serious pressure from the U.S., the EC and Japan stipulates that neither Israel nor the PLO "shall bring before the donor community those political issues that are of disagreement between them. They will deal with such issues between themselves, based on the [Oslo] Declaration of Principles and subsequent agreements."<sup>96</sup> This was a clear concession by Arafat to drop his insistence that some international donor assistance be designated to fund Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem, which Israel regards as a section of its capital and in which the PA has no jurisdiction.

Having agreed to Israel's demand that Jerusalem is out of bounds even for symbolic Palestinian development, the PA was

rewarded with funds to support its expanding bureaucracy for the next six months and pay the police force, which relieved Israel of upholding "law and order" in Gaza, as was tragically illustrated on November 18, 1994 when the first Gaza massacre was committed by Arafat's police, and on subsequent occasions when Hamas activities were virtually curtailed.

At present, the annexation of East Jerusalem by Israel and the incorporation of nearly 25 percent of the West Bank into the metropolitan Jerusalem area seemed to be nearly complete. Meanwhile the deferral of the Jerusalem question, under the Oslo accords, to a final status issue, has enabled Israel to use the three-year transitional period to seal the fate of the city. Building new settlements around the city on land occupied since 1967 and expanding existing settlements have proceeded uninterrupted during the past five years since Clinton assumed the presidency. Washington no longer places real conditions on its loan guarantees, nor does it feel obliged to remind Israel that the settlements are an obstacle to peace, not to say anything about being illegal. The use of the term "illegal" as ascribed to settlements had vanished with the end of the Carter Administration. With Reagan and Bush in power, the illegal status had given way to a new formula— an "obstacle to peace." Now under Clinton, settlements are considered, at best, as a "complicating factor" in the "peace Process," but neither illegal nor an obstacle to peace. This shift in policy was confirmed by Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau despite a disingenuous denial, in the same congressional testimony referred to above. Pelletreau had coined the phrase "complicating factor" in March 1994, and on June 14, 1994 he was questioned by Representative Hamilton:

HAMILTON: Of course, the United States has often used the phrase "an obstacle of peace" in years past. Now, is your formulation there representing a change with respect, or-

PELLETREAU: No, but it hasn't come up in the-

HAMILTON: If you were describing it today, would you say complicating factor or an obstacle to peace?

PELLETREAU: I would say that it is a complicating factor.

HAMILTON: Okay, and-but does that reflect any changes in policy?

PELLETREAU: No.

HAMILTON: All right. Well, why the change in words?

PELLETREAU: Those are the words that the Administration is using.

HAMILTON: All right. But you don't mean to convey by that change in words any change in policy?

PELLETREAU: We do not mean to convey a change in policy.

HAMILTON: And do you take a position on the question of the legality of the settlements?

PELLETREAU: Not at this time.

The fraud in Pelletreau's answers is not even thinly-veiled; that has become typical of the Clinton Administration's strategy of trying to keep campaign commitments to Jewish constituents and, at the same time, meeting its obligations to the broader public interest, which requires a measure of policy continuity. The theme, which can be discerned in statements by Christopher, Albright, Burns, Pelletreau and others, speaking for the Administration, is that it is not to anyone's advantage to make detailed pronouncements on issues which the parties to the conflict have agreed to take up at a later date. Thus Israel continues to take unilateral measures, which prejudice the final outcome, and the Clinton Administration accommodates the illegality by using new

formulations such as "natural growth," "complicating factors," or by dropping existing policy formulations, such as "occupied territories," while denying any change in policy. Pelletreau, who is considered to be an Arabist (a term which attributes a certain favoritism to Arabs), presents a perfect example of the Administration's deliberate misrepresentation of U.S. policy.

The Clinton Administration has placed the U.S. in the position of defender of Israel's land grab in the name of promoting the peace process, as if peace has some other meaning. It has been downright complicit in Israel's ongoing distortion of Jerusalem. The statement by Madeleine Albright at the U.N. on March 18, 1994, her letter to members of the General Assembly in August 1994 on the status of Jerusalem, and her 1994 vetoes constitute an unambiguous challenge to the principle of inadmissibility of conquest by force, which the U.S. frequently invokes, as a tenet of a brave new world under its own leadership. By repeating the phrase that "our policy on Jerusalem has not changed," Pelletreau, Christopher, and Albright were simply negating the historical facts. The former U.S. position was articulated by the U.S. ambassador to the U.N., Charles Yost as early as 1969, when he told the Security Council that the Arab sector which Israel seized in June 1967 was "like other areas occupied by Israel, in occupied territory." And as late as 1991, the U.S. voted for resolution 694 which referred to "all the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem."

Moreover, the new code phrases of the Clinton Administration that "final status" issues such as Jerusalem must not be "preempted" and that the final outcome of negotiations must not be "prejudiced" are rather dishonest. There will be nothing left for final negotiations, thanks to Washington's sheltering of Israel's own preemptive acts. The peace sponsor has become effectively the obstructive of peace. What, in fact is being prejudiced is Israel's annexation of east Jerusalem, which should be prejudiced and pre-empted, because it is illegal and



has been declared as such by an overwhelming majority of the nations in the world. That annexation would surely make an equitable and a durable peace impossible.

### **JERUSALEM BEYOND U.S. POLICY**

The reaction to Israel's land grab outside the United States stands in sharp contrast to Clinton's policy of aiding and abetting the grand larceny. The overwhelming majority of countries in the world still refrain from opening embassies in any part of Jerusalem, East or West. That position is clearly based on two considerations: East Jerusalem is occupied territory and West Jerusalem is part of the projected corpus separatum, designated as an international city.

Most Security Council members and overwhelming majorities, in the General Assembly between 1967 and the present, have deplored Israel's confiscation of more than 100,000 donums of West Bank land for incorporation into the new and expanded Jerusalem. Unlike the U.S. under Clinton, they upheld the position that the United Nations constitutes the proper forum for dealing with the Arab Israeli conflict. Although many in the world do not oppose the Oslo process, they, unlike Washington, see no necessary contradiction between that process and the global process based on myriad U.N. resolutions.

Thus, for example, when the Rabin government announced its intent to expropriate 134 acres in the village of Beit Hanina, adjacent to Jerusalem, on April 22, 1995, the division in the Security Council was one against fourteen--the U.S. against the world. Every single member of the Security Council, with the exception of the U.S., voted in favor of the mildly-worded resolution, reaffirming the U.N. position regarding occupied territories, without abstentions. The U.S. issued a statement saying that its use of the veto was designed to "protect the issue of Jerusalem from interference by the Security Council."<sup>97</sup>

That "interference", presumably in the U.S.-sponsored "peace process," which has protected Israel's unilateral acts, was in reference to the following attempted "transgressions" by the Council:<sup>98</sup>

1. Its reaffirmation of previous resolutions 252 (1968), 267 (1969), 271 (1969), 476 (1980), 478 (1980), and 672 (1990), part of the legal structure labeled by Madeleine Albright as "contentions" and "obsolete".

2. Its reaffirmation of the applicability of the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention relative to "all territories occupied by Israel, including Jerusalem," which prohibits, among other things, land expropriation.

It is interesting to note that the draft resolution, which warranted a U.S. veto, had neither deplored nor condemned the attempted piracy. Nor had it implied that the United Nations is the only forum for redress. On the contrary, the Council went out of its way to appease the United States by emphasizing the "negative impact" of the expropriations on the U.S.-sponsored "peace process", and by "expressing full support" for that process.

Ambassador Albright, however, was anything but placated. She said that the resolution would "merely compound the problem", that the issue must be resolved by the parties themselves "with the support of the international community, but without its interference", and that "progress towards peace in the Middle East depends not on what the U.N. does, but on what the parties agree to."<sup>99</sup> Albright lectured the Council on the need to "encourage the parties" instead of "intruding" and "prejudging" in a manner she deemed as "prejudicial to the outcome of negotiation" and as "detrimental" to peace. Her attempt to put a spin on the issue was perhaps best expressed in the following remark: "we may pull out the chairs for those at the bargaining table, but we do not belong at the table ourselves".<sup>100</sup>

But while Clinton's ambassador was determined to

unilaterally abrogate and nullify the entire international framework of the Palestine question, consisting of piles of U.N. resolutions, others in the Council, including the U.S. allies, disagreed and reaffirmed that framework. The French President of the Security Council, Jean-Bernard Marimee, speaking as the representative of the European Union during the debate on the draft resolution, dismissed the U.S. argument that the Council has no role in the issue because the parties are engaged in direct talks. He said:

That does not mean in any sense that international law no longer applies to these issues. Neither does it mean that the serious developments that affect them should not be brought up by the international community. The peace process, which is based, inter alia on Security Council resolutions, is part of a long history that it is trying to transcend.<sup>101</sup>

To the Israeli and U.S. position that the Declaration of Principles of September 13, 1993 transcends U.N. resolutions, placing Israel's expropriation decision outside the realm of the Security Council, he said:

...(Through the expropriations decision,) The Israeli authorities seem to be reaffirming their defacto hold on Jerusalem and are blatantly modifying the status quo in the city, whereas the spirit of the Declaration of Principles is to maintain the situation as it stands so long as negotiations on the final settlement have not been concluded.<sup>102</sup>

In other words, the European Union does not believe that the DOP should be used as a convenient cover for annexation and expropriation, which is the real position of the U.S. and Israel, rather than the sugar-coated position that the final outcome must not be prejudiced by U.N. "intrusion".

Ambassador Merimee also spoke in his capacity as the representative of France, reasserting the illegality of Israel's declared intent and restating that "all international conventions and United Nations resolutions apply to the Holy City," until the final status is resolved. In other words, the DOP cannot be used as an instrument to violate international law.

The Canadian Ambassador Robert Fowler agreed with Merimee saying that the expropriation was "contrary to the spirit and intent of the Declaration of Principles... (and) also contravenes the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which apply to the entire West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and which prohibit changing of or otherwise modifying territories under occupation..."<sup>103</sup>

Sir David Hanay, the British representative, also objected to any attempts to change the status-quo, and although he recognized the "attachment to Jerusalem of the Israeli people," he said that "Israel should recognize that others feel equally strongly about the city..."<sup>104</sup> Both he and the Chinese representative, Wang Xuexian described the vetoed resolution as reasonable and moderate. Xuexian rebutted the U.S. position saying: If the draft resolution had been adopted, it would have contributed greatly to the peace process in the Middle East, not damaged it."<sup>105</sup>

The presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the U.S., the Reverend Edmond Browning issued a sharp rebuke of the U.S. veto in a statement released on May 19, 1995:<sup>106</sup>

I am so deeply disappointed, and even ashamed, that our country would use its veto... and thereby give legitimacy to the state of Israel's continuing illegal expropriation of land in East Jerusalem.

He said that the veto would call into question "the integrity of the United States as an honest and fair sponsor" in the peace process, and would "prejudice the negotiations over

the status of Jerusalem".

Similar sentiments were also expressed by other U.S. Christian leaders with regard to the entire spectrum of Israeli violations of international law and morality. Successive statements have been issued by the World Council of Churches and other church organizations in the U.S. and the world at large. For example, eight high ranking Christian leaders, including the president of the National Council of Catholic Bishops, the heads of the Episcopal and Lutheran churches in the U.S. the heads of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, the Catholic Conference, the American Friends Service Committee, World Vision and the Antiochan Orthodox Church of N. America issued an extraordinary statement urging the Clinton Administration to press Israel to discontinue land seizure for Israeli settlements in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The signers of the March 6, 1996 statement had anticipated a meeting with President Clinton, who refused to meet with them after the statement was met with a storm of criticism from U.S. Jewish leaders and Israeli officials.

The statement, titled "Jerusalem: City of Peace," highlighting the proverbial "Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem" invoked in Psalm 122:6, raised the fear that the escalation of Israeli annexationist measures has left very little to negotiate about, and appealed to the President to meet U.S. responsibilities as the main sponsor of the "peace process". 107 The statement also expressed concern about the erosion in traditional U.S. policy towards Jerusalem, under Clinton:

"We are concerned:

- that the Administration is backing away from the long-term United States policy that East Jerusalem is subject to U.N. Security Council Resolution 242...

- that the Administration is failing to recognize and support Palestinian rights in Jerusalem.

- that the Administration is not using its

considerable influence to halt Israeli construction in East Jerusalem and continued expansion into Palestinian areas.

There is broad concern among Christian and Muslim leaders in Palestine and other parts of the Arab world about the future of Jerusalem in the face of what seems like an imminent fait accompli: A campaign to collect ten million signatures on a statement "The Jerusalem Appeal: Muslims and Christians Together for Jerusalem's Sake" went under way in mid-June 1996.<sup>108</sup> Signers include the heads of Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian, Coptic, Anglican, Maronite and other churches in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt as well as Grand Muftis and other Muslim leaders representing Sunni and Shi'a communities. The Statement asserts the Arab—Christian and Muslim character of the city and opposes its Judaization and even internationalization. It states that "Jerusalem is its people. Its people are Palestinians who...have never been severed from it and know no other place as their capital". It also considers the establishment of embassies in Jerusalem as "an act of hostility against Arabs, Christians and Muslims alike." A conference on "the Significance of Jerusalem for Christians and of Christians for Jerusalem" was also convened in East Jerusalem on January 22-27, 1996 with over 300 Christian participants from more than 25 countries to discuss the spiritual, legal, political, social and cultural aspects of Jerusalem. The conference called on Israel to remove all roadblocks preventing access to Jerusalem for Palestinians, to cease land expropriation and all restrictions on new Palestinian building. It reaffirmed that "Jerusalem should serve as the capital for two sovereign and independent states, Israel and Palestine."<sup>109</sup>

In concluding, it can be said that Jerusalem has been conquered more than 37 times throughout its history.<sup>110</sup> Whether its most recent invasion will be just another conquest or will lead to a historic compromise depends on whether the

city will be exclusive or inclusive.

Former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who was widely but mistakenly considered as a compromising leader in comparison to Benjamin Netanyahu, said the "compromises" he and his slain predecessor, Rabin have made with the Palestinians" were in order not to compromise on Jerusalem". Apparently addressing the Palestinians, he added:

We never thought...Jerusalem would be a subject for referendum, for compromise, for division. Don't touch Jerusalem.<sup>111</sup>

Peres' uncompromising stand on Jerusalem was also reiterated in a response to a question by the Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans in July 1995 about Israel's refusal to recognize Palestinian claims in Jerusalem. He said:

Jerusalem has never been an Arab capital, and the Jews have never had another capital...we have a demographic majority in the city, and there is no historical or demographic justification for that.<sup>112</sup>

The exclusionary character which these statements imply was made very explicit by a Cabinet statement marking the 28th anniversary of the capture of the city, according to the Hebrew calendar, which fell on May 28, 1995:

The Cabinet will act to strengthen the status of united Jerusalem as the exclusive capital of Israel, and will fight any attempt to impair this status.

Today with political power having passed to the Likud and their fundamentalist allies in the religious parties as well as the extreme right wing Molded, the Likudist administration of the city, headed by Ehud Olmert, will be able to proceed with its exclusionary measures even more smoothly. This is not to convey the impression that the Robin-Pairs government was at

cross purposes with the Olmert administration. The plans for Jerusalem are now more likely to be fully synchronized and relatively free of political wranglings.

Against this exclusionary outlook, there is a broad consensus in the world that the unilateral measures thus far taken to insure that an enlarged Jerusalem remains under exclusive Israeli control, are not in the long-term interest of peace or of Israel itself. Although the physical barriers separating the Israeli and Jordanian sectors were demolished 29 years ago, today the division of Jerusalem, the ghettoization of its Arab sector and its metropolitanization, at the expense of Arabs and for the exclusive benefit of Jews, is a stark reminder that the much touted unification is fraudulent. Under the Oslo process, Israel has been able to confine the Palestinians into "micro-areas-ghettos or 'Palestans'... *hafrada* in Hebrew and *apartheid* in Afrikaans."<sup>113</sup>

In view of all that, broad segments of the world community have refused Israel's invitation to participate in the "Jerusalem 3000" extravaganza. The Vatican, Britain, the European Union and many other countries refused to join. Even the Zionist Ambassador of the United States, Martin Indyk, was given instructions to not participate; although, he would undoubtedly manage to attend the "touristic" aspects of the celebration. The middle East Council of Churches has interpreted the "Jerusalem 3000" as "an effort to upstage the forthcoming Christian celebration of the Incarnation...the birth of Christ". A press release by the council commented thus:

Jerusalem 3000 is a political statement that marches in locked step with other Israeli efforts to assert sovereignty, de-Christianize the city, and alienate Jerusalem from its Palestinian citizens and its pluralist religious heritage.<sup>114</sup>

It is this pluralist character which is being brutally denied



by today's Israel leaders, and supported by the U.S. government, whose entire Congress with both of its houses gave Benjamin Netanyahu a standing ovation as he reasserted his government's intent to uphold the exclusionary outlook, on July 10, 1996. Such shrill declarations will only serve to harden positions, exacerbate tensions, raise emotions and pre-empt whatever opportunities may prevail for creating the new Jerusalem as a model of sovereign co-existence, equal rights and equal protection. Such declarations should not be met by rewarding intransigence with tax payer's money, Security Council vetoes and standing ovations, but by a new resolve to join efforts so that Jerusalem may become a city of reconciliation, justice and peace for all.

**Naseer H. Aruri**

*Department of Political Science  
The University of Massachusetts/Dartmouth*

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- 'Abidi, al-, Mahmud, *Qudsuna*, Cairo, 1972.  
Abu Manneh, B. The Rise of the Sanjak of Jerusalem in the Late 19th Century', in Gabriel Ben-Dor (ed.), *The Palestinians and the Middle East Conflicts*, Ramat Gan, 1978.  
Al-Arif, Arif, *Tarikh al-Quds*. Cairo, 1951.  
———, *Al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh al-Quds*, Jerusalem, 1961.  
Al-Dabbagh, Mustafa Murad, *Biladuna Filistin*, vol. 10/2, Beirut, 1976.  
Al-Khatib, Rouhi. *The Judaization of Jerusalem*, Beirut: PLO Research Center, 1970.  
Amiri, M.A. *Jerusalem: Arab Origin and Heritage*, London, 1978.  
Aronson, Geoffrey. *Settlements And The Israel-Palestinian Negotiations: An Overview*. Washington, D.C.: Institute For Palestine Studies, 1996.  
Aruri, Naseer H. *Occupation: Israel Over Palestine*, Belmont: AAUG Press, 1989.  
Ben-Arieh, Y. *Jerusalem in the 19th Century. The Old City*, Jerusalem and New York, 1984.  
Benvenisti, Meron. *Jerusalem: The Torn City*. Jerusalem: ISRATYPESET Ltd., 1976.  
Boudreault, Jody A. (ed.). *United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: 1987-1991*, Vol. 4. Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993.  
Boudreault, Jody and Yasser Salaam (eds.). *U.S. Official Statements: Status of Jerusalem*. Washington, D.C. Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992.

- Cattan, Henry. Jerusalem. New York: St. Martin Press, 1981.
- Cohen, Amnon, *Jewish Life under Islam: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1984.
- Collins, Larry and Dominique Lapierre. *O Jerusalem*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.
- Dabbagh, al-, Mustafa, *Biladuna Filistin-Fi Bait al-Maqdis*, pt. 10, Beirut, 1376/1976.
- Feintuch, Yossi. *U.S. Policy on Jerusalem*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987.
- Gerber, Haim, *Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem (1890-1914)*, Berlin, 1985.
- Gibb, H.A. R. 'The Ayyubids', *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Setton, II.
- Gilbert, Martin, *Jerusalem, Rebirth of a City*, London, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Jerusalem History Atlas*, New York: Macmillan, 1977.
- Gur, Mordechai. *The Battle for Jerusalem*, New York: Popular Library, 1974.
- Halsell, Grace. *Journey to Jerusalem*. New York: Macmillan, 1981.
- Hassan bin Talal, *A Study on Jerusalem*, London, 1979.
- Howarth, Stephen, *The Knights Templar*, London, 1982.
- Ibn al-Jawzi, *Fada'il al-Quds*, ed. J Jabbur, Beirut, 1979.
- Ingram, O. Kelly ed., *Jerusalem: Key to Peace in the Middle East*. North Carolina: Triangle Friends of the Middle East, 1977.
- K. J. Asali. ed. *Jerusalem In History*, Brooklyn: N. Y.: Olive Branch Press, 1990.
- Kendall, Henry. *Jerusalem, The City Plan, Preservation and Development during the British Mandate, 1918-1948*. London, HMSO, 1948.
- Kenyon, K. M. *Digging Up Jerusalem.*, London, 1974.
- Kerr, Malcolm H. 'The Changing Political Status of Jerusalem' in Abu-Lughod. Ibrahim, *The Transformation of Palestine*, Evanston, III., 1971, 355-77.
- Khalidi, Walid. *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876- 1948*. Washington, Institute for Palestinian Studies, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (ed.) *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948*. Washington, D.C. Institute for Palestine Studies, 1991.
- Khalili, al-, M, *Wathiqa Maqdisyya Tarikhiyya*, ed. I. M. Hussein and A. S. Abu Lail, Jerusalem, 1979.
- Khatib, Khaled. *The Conservation of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 1993.
- Kollek, Teddy, *For Jerusalem*, New York, 1978.
- Kraemer, Joel (ed.). *Jerusalem: Problems and Prospects*, New York, 1981.
- Kroyanker, David, *Jerusalem Planning and Development*, 1979-1982, Jerusalem, 1982.
- Kutcher, Arthur. *The New Jerusalem: Planning and Politics*, London, 1973.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, reprint Beirut, 1964.

- Mallison, Thomas and Sally. *The Palestine Problem in International Law and World Order*. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1986.
- Mattar, Philip. 'The Mufti of Jerusalem: Muhammad Amin Al-Husayni, A Founder of Palestinian Nationalism'. Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University n.d.
- Mayer, Hans E, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, Oxford, 1972.
- Amiri, M. A. *Al-Quds al-Arabiyya*, Amman, 1971.
- Mujir al-Din, *Al-Uns al-Jalil bi-Tarikh al-Quds wa-l-Khalil*, Amman, 1973.
- Nakhleh, Issa. *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem* (2 Vols.). New York: Intercontinental Books, 1991.
- Neff, Donald. *Warriors For Jerusalem: The Six Days that Changed the Middle East*. New York: Linden Press/Simon and Schuster, 1984.
- Palumbo, Michael. *The Palestinian Catastrophe: The 1948 Expulsion of A People From Their Homeland*. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1987.
- Richard, J. *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, tr. Janet Shirley, Amsterdam, 1979.
- Rubenstein, Daniel, 'The Jerusalem Municipality under the Ottomans, British and Jordanians' in Joel L. Kraemer (ed.), *Jerusalem-Problems and Prospects*, New York, 1980.
- Runciman, S. *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I: *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, New York, 1964.
- Said, Edward W. *The Question of Palestine*, New York: Times Books, 1980.
- Schleiger, Abdullah, *The Fall of Jerusalem*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972.
- Shamma, Samir, 'Al-Nuqud wa-'Urbat al-Quds', *Majallat al-Quds al-Sharif*, No. 10, Jan. 1986.
- Sherif, Regina S. (ed.) *United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1975-1981*, vol. 2. Washington, D.C. Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988.
- Shiber, Saba George, *Recent Arab City Growth*. Kuwait, 1967.
- Simpson, Michael (ed.) *United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1982-1986* (vol. 3) Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988.
- Tibawi, A. L. *Jerusalem. Its Place in Islam and Arab History*, Beirut, 1969.
- , *The Extant Pious Foundations in Jerusalem*, London, 1987.
- Tomeh, George (ed.) *United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1947-1974* (vol. 1.) Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975.
- Tsimhoni, Daphne, 'Demographic Trends of the Christian Population in Jerusalem and the West Bank 1948-1978', *Middle East Journal*, 37, 1, Winter, 1983, 54-64.
- United Nations, *The Status of Jerusalem*, New York, 1979.
- Warren, Charles, *Underground Jerusalem*, London, 1876.
- Wasiti, *Fada il al-Bait al-Muqaddas*, ed. A Hasson, Jerusalem, 1979.
- William of Tyre. *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Seas*. 2 vols., tr. Emily A. Babcock and A. C. Krey. New York, 1976, reprint of 1941 ed., I.

# ENDNOTES

1. Text in *Journal of Palestine Studies* (hereinafter referred to as JPS) Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (Summer 1995) pp. 155-156.
2. Ibid. p 157.
3. George Will. "Netanyahu Keeps His Word - No Wonder He Amazes U.S. Press." *Boston Globe*, June 23, 1996.
4. Amos Elon. "Jerusalem: The Future of the Past" *New York Review of Books*. August 17, 1989. p.37. Also Roger Friedland and Richard Hecht observed in their book, *To Rule Jerusalem*, that "Theodore Herzl wanted to build the capital on Mount Carmel, not within Jerusalem... It is ironic that Jerusalem lent its name to the Jewish nationalist movement, for Zionism was built largely outside Zion, in the countryside and along the coast".
5. Ibid.
6. Meir Pa'il. "Challenge For Peace In The Holy City". *New Outlook*. Vol. 34 No. 4 (June/July/August, 1991), p. 41; see also, Ian Lustick "Reinventing Jerusalem." *Foreign Policy*. No. 93 (Winter 1993-94) which argues that a compromise on Jerusalem is still possible despite the fact that a large majority of Israelis oppose it. The article makes reference to Ben Gurion's acceptance of a "relatively small Hebrew Jerusalem" in 1948. p. 59.
7. Quoted in Jeffrey Boutwell. "Jerusalem: Victim or Conqueror?" *Christian Science Monitor*. April 2, 1996.
8. Pa'il, op. cit. p. 40.
9. Ibid.
10. See Paul Goldberger. "Passions Set In Stone." *New York Times Magazine*. September 10, 1995, p.44.
11. Abdullah Schleifer. *The Fall of Jerusalem*. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1972, p. 2.
12. Dan Almaghor. "Jerusalem: Daughter of All Generations" *Yediot Aharonot*. January 29, 1993.
13. Alistaire Duncan. *The Noble Sanctuary: Portrait of A Holy Place In Arab Jerusalem*. London: Middle East Archive. 1972. p. 12.
14. Almaghor. op. cit.
15. George Mendenhall. "Jerusalem From 1000-63 B.C." in K. J. Asali (ed.) *Jerusalem In History*. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Olive Branch Press, 1990. p. 66.
16. Ibid. p. 71.
17. John Wilkinson. "Jerusalem Under Rome And Byzantium, 63 B.C. - 637 A. D." in Asali. Ibid., p. 75.
18. Ibid. pp. 102-103.
19. Duncan. op. cit. p. 22.
20. Quoted in Almaghor, op. cit.
21. Abdul-Aziz Duri. "*Jerusalem In the Early Islamic Period*." in Asali. op. cit. p. 108.
22. Duncan, op. cit. pp. 49-50.
23. Schleifer. op. cit. p. 2.
- 24,25. Mustafa A. Hiyari. "Crusader Jerusalem 1099-1187 A.D." in Asali. op. cit. p. 165.

26. Steven Runciman. *A History of The Crusades*. London, 1965. I. p. 467.
27. A. K. Asali. "Jerusalem In History." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 16 No. 4 (Fall 1994).
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., Quoting A. Schloch. *Palastina Un Umbruch* (Stuttgart:Franz Steiner Verlag), 1986. p. 264.
30. United Nations, *The Status of Jerusalem*. New York: United Nations, 1979. p. 3.
31. United Nations. *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Supplement No. 11* (Document A/364. UNSCOP Report), Vol. I. p.54. Posted on pnet@banumusa.csl.uiuc.edu
32. Khalil Tufakji. "*The Judaization of East Jerusalem: Facts and Figures*". Presented to the U.N. General Assembly (September 1995). Posted on pnet@banumusa.csl.uiuc.edu.
33. Michael Dumper. "Jerusalem's Final Status: What Will Be Left To Negotiate?" *The Link*. New York: Americans For Middle East Understanding. Vol. 26 Issue 3 (July-August, 1995), p. 3.
34. Elon. op. cit. p. 39.
35. On the destruction and depopulation of villages, see Walid Khalidi: *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated By Israel In 1948*. Washington: Institute For Palestine Studies, 1993.
36. Edward Said. "Projecting Jerusalem" *JPS*. Vol. XXV No. 1 (Autumn, 1995), p. 7.
37. Henry Cattán. *The Palestine Question*. London: C. Helm, 1988), p. 253.
38. *New York Times*. April 25, 1950.
39. *Facts On File*. Vol. XXVII. June 7, 1967.
40. See Ibrahim Dakkak "The Transformation of Jerusalem: Juridicial Status and Physical Change." Naseer Aruri (ed.) *Occupation: Israel Over Palestine* (2nd Ed.) Belmont, MA: AAUG Press, 1989. pp. 139-171.
41. Rouhi al-Khatib. *The Judaization of Jerusalem*. (Beirut: PLO Research Center), 1970. p. 50.
42. *The Status of Jerusalem*, (prepared for, and under the guidance of the Committee on The Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People), New York; United Nations, 1979., pp. 17-18.
43. See *The Status of Jerusalem* (New York: United Nations, 1979).
44. The late Prime Minister Golda Meir, who was born in Russia and grew up in the United States, summed up this position thus: "There is no such thing as a Palestinian it was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." *London Sunday Times*. June 15, 1969.
45. See "Testimony of Yehuda Zvi Blum" *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary*. U.S. Senate, Ninety Fifth Congress, October 17 and 18, 1977 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1978) pp. 25-26; 35. A number of scholars argued that the Israeli thesis is a rationalization of unilateral acts undertaken illegally and not a bona fide legal judgment. See, for example, Seth Tillman, "The West Bank Hearings," *JPS* (Winter

- 1979) pp. 21, 27; see also "Testimony of W.T. Mallison" in *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization*. op.cit pp. 46-56; Henry Cattán, "The Status of Jerusalem," *JPS* (Spring 1981), ; Kathleen Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (London: Ernest Benn, 1974); M.A. Amiry, *Jerusalem: Arab Origin and Heritage* (London: Longmans, 1978).
46. See Raja Shehadeh, *The West Bank and the Rule of Law* (New York: International Commission of Jurists and Law in the Service of Man, 1980).
  47. Much of the statistics on land seizure is compiled from data in the following sources: Geoffrey Aronson. *Settlements and the Israel-Palestinian Negotiations: An Overview*. Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1996. pp. 17-26; Ibrahim Matar. "To Whom Does Jerusalem Belong?" Jerusalem. Washington: The Center For Policy Analysis on Palestine, 1993. pp. 7-17; Tufakji op. cit.
  48. See John Tyler, "Finishing Jerusalem." *Challenge* (Jerusalem) No. 28 (November-December 1994), pp. 15-16.
  49. Plans Gaining Momentum for Metropolitan Jerusalem" *Report on Israeli Settlements In the Occupied Territories*. Vol. 3 No 2 (March 1993). Washington, D.C.: Foundation For Middle East Peace.
  50. See Jan de Jong, "The Secret Map of Non- Negotiable Jerusalem." *Challenge*. No 28 (November-December 1994), p.12.
  51. *Jerusalem Post*. November 11, 1993.
  52. Jan de Jong. op.cit. p. 12.
  53. See Raja Shehadeh, "A Legal Analysis of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement" *JPS*, Vol. XXIII No 4 (Summer 1994), pp. 20-21.
  54. Adam Pertman, "Baker Cautions Israel." *Boston Globe* March 2, 1990. Senator Bob Dole wrote an article in the *New York Times* (January 21, 1990) proposing that 5% of the monies allocated to the top recipients of U.S aid (Israel, Egypt, Turkey, The Phillipines, Pakistan) be reallocated to eastern and central Europe. On May 1, 1990, Dole rose in opposition at the Senate floor to loan guarantees for Israel and cited the generous pattern of U.S aid since the early 70's. He filled 20 pages of the Congressional Record of studies by the respected Congressional Research Service detailing congressional generosity towards Israel over the years, and other material critical of aid to Israel. see Donald Neff, "The U.S. and Israel: Tilting at a Windmill", *Middle East International* ( May 11, 1990), p.9
  55. From "Excerpts of President Bush's Remarks at News Conference At End of Talks [with Japan's Prime Minister]" *New York Times*. March 4, 1990.
  56. *New York Times*. September 26, 1971.
  57. Ibid.
  58. *Israel Government Year Book*, 1968-1969 (Jerusalem: Central Office of Information, Prime Minister's Office, S739), p. 9.
  59. See Naseer H. Aruri. *The Obstruction of Peace: The U.S., Israel and The Palestinians*. (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995). pp. 136-145.
  60. Tom Kenworthy. "Mitchell Upbraids Bush About East Jerusalem." *Washington Post*, March 6, 1990.

61. *Jerusalem Press Service* (Washington D.C.), March 6, 1990
62. Ibid.
63. Kenworthy. *Washington Post*, March 6, 1990. op. cit.
64. Ibid.
65. Text in Congressional Record. April 24, 1990. See also Tom Kenworthy "House Supports Jerusalem As Israeli Capital." *Washington Post*. April 25, 1990; Major Garret "House Supports Jerusalem As Israeli Capital." *Washington Post* April 25, 1990.
66. Quoted in Donald Neff, "The Formidable Bob Dole Faces Up to Israel," *Middle East International* (April 27, 1990) p.3.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid. p. 4.
69. The *USA Today* (editorial). May 24, 1995. See also a 37-page report by the National Jewish Democratic Council written by Stephen Silberfarb, et al, "Bob Dole On Israel: He Can Run, But He Can't Hide". It states: "Bob Dole's record on Israel is replete with inconsistencies, contradictions, and outbursts of hostility...His cynical and transparent ploy on Jerusalem, together with his unreliability and hostility on aid issues and his support for arms sales to Arab countries then at war with Israel indicates that Bob Dole simply cannot be trusted..."
70. William Safire "Bush Versus Israel," *New York Times*. March 26, 1990.
71. Ibid.
72. A.M. Rosenthal, "The President's Bomb," *New York Times*, March 8, 1990.
73. See for example, David Hoffman "Bush: I Don't Regret Comment on East Jerusalem," *Washington Post*. March 14, 1990, in which he writes: "It was rare for a president publicly to criticize the settlements in East Jerusalem as equivalent to those in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip."
74. Jackson Diehl. op cit.
75. David Hoffman and Al Kamen, "Bush's remark Under Cut Peace Plan," *Washington Post*. March 15, 1990.
76. Ibid.
77. John Goshko, "Bush's Remarks on East Jerusalem Clarified." *Washington Post*. March 6, 1990.
78. Ibid.
79. *Near East Report*, November 15, 1993.
80. See Naseer H. Aruri. *The Obstruction of Peace* p. 181.
81. Geoffery Aronson, "U.S. Policy Shifts on Settlements." *Report on Israeli Settlement In the Occupied Territories*. Vol. 4, No 6 (November 1994), p.6.
82. *Mideast Mirror*, March 14, 1994..
83. *The Jewish Advocate*. March 18-24, 1994.
84. Excerpts from Pelletreau's testimony in *JPS* Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Autumn 1994), pp. 149-151.
85. See Leon Hadar, "Muddling Through In The New World Disorder-And In The Middle East." *JIS*. Vol. XXIII No 4 (Summer 1994), p. 68.
86. Donald Neff. "AIPAC Puts on the Pressure," *Middle East International*

- (No 471) March 18, 1994, pp. 7-8.
87. See Donald Neff "Embracing Israel's Claims at the U.N. " *Middle East International*. ( No 472) April 1, 1994,p.4.
  88. See text of Israeli legislation in *JPS* Vol. XXIV No. 3 (Spring 1995), pp. 142-143. It should be noted that this legislation contradicts an earlier commitment (October 11, 1993) by Shimon Peres to Norwegian Foreign Minister the late Johan Jorgen Holst "...all the Palestinian institutions of East Jerusalem, including the economic, social, educational and cultural...are performing an essential task for the Palestinian population. Needless to say, we will not hamper their activity; on the contrary, the fulfilment of this important mission is to be encouraged." Text in *JPS* Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Autumn 1994) p. 138.
  89. See Leon Hadar. op. cit.
  90. Excerpts from the text of Albright's speech are reprinted in *JPS*. Vol. XXIII No. 4 9 (Summer 1994), pp. 151-152.
  91. Ibid.
  92. Donald Neff
  93. Text of Bill in *JPS*. XXIV No. 4 (Summer 1995), pp. 159-160.
  94. Text in *JPS* XXV No. 1 (Autumn, 1995), pp. 160-161.
  95. Congressional Record, May 23, 1994.
  96. *Jerusalem Post*. September 14, 1994. p. 1.
  97. *New York Times*. May 18, 1995.
  98. See Text of Draft Resolution in *JPS* XXIV No. 4. (Summer 1995), pp. 146-147.
  99. Albright's statement in Ibid., pp. 160-162.
  100. Ibid.
  101. Text of debate in *JPS*. XXV. No. 1 (Sutumn 1995) p. 135.
  102. Ibid.
  103. Ibid., pp. 135-136.
  104. Ibid., p. 136.
  105. Ibid.
  106. Episcopal News Service. Note 1122 ENS Netwqrk @ ecunet. org
  107. Text in *JPS*. XXIV No. 4 (Summer 1995), pp. 152-153.
  108. Text in Appendix...
  109. Text posted by Judith Martin. martin@checkov.hm.udayton.edu. March 26, 1996.
  110. Stephen Zunes. "*Jerusalem and the United States Betrayal of International Law*". Paper presented at North American NGO Symposium onthe Question of Palestine. New York. June 24-26, 1996.
  111. Quoted by the *Associated Press*. December 4, 1995.
  112. *Ha'aretz* as quoted in pnet.list@banumusa.csl.uiuc.edu. 12, July 1995.
  113. *Decimation of Christians in Occupied Territories of Palestine*". Jerusalem: Society of St. Yves. July 1, 1996. Appendix No.
  114. From the January-April *Middle East Council of Churches News Report* (1995). Posted by Valerie Van Osdel on pnet@banumusa.csl.uiuc.edu., September, 1995.





## LA JERUSALEM AXIALE DE LOUIS MASSIGNON

*On ne possède spirituellement que ce  
à quoi on a matériellement renoncé ici-bas.*

*--Louis Massignon*

*Lorsque la vierge d'Israël était auparavant en exil,  
à la date prévue, elle retournait d'elle-même au Roi.  
À présent, en cet exil-ci, le Saint, béni soit-Il, ira Lui-même  
la prendre par la main; Il la relèvera, la réconfortera  
et la ramènera en Son palais.*

*--Le Zohar*

La pensée mystique de Louis Massignon tourne toute entière autour de la notion-symbole de "déplacement." Cette notion, et son corollaire, "la personne déplacée"<sup>1</sup>, anime en vérité tous les plans de la pensée et de l'action de Massignon, depuis la psychologie mystique jusqu'à la sociologie. Considérant le sommet de l'expérience humaine, la rencontre de l'homme et de Dieu, Massignon est si substantiellement chrétien --en dépit de ce qu'on a pu discrètement appeler sa "tentation de l'Islam", qu'il ne peut concevoir le Divin, et le rapport du Divin à l'humain, que comme mouvement, déplacement, incarnation. Lorsqu'il s'agit du sens du mot "Dieu" et de sa représentation humaine, Massignon parle ainsi en termes d'"Hôte fragile", d'"Etranger", de "visitation", de "*fiat*"<sup>2</sup> et de "commotion"<sup>3</sup>:

Cet Hôte fragile (le Seigneur) qu'elle (l'âme) porte en son

sein détermine dès lors (dès son consentement au *fiat*) tous ses comportements. Ce n'est pas une idée inventée qu'elle fait évoluer à sa guise selon sa nature, c'est un Etranger mystérieux qu'elle adore, et qui l'oriente: elle s'y voue.<sup>4</sup>

Pour Massignon mystique chrétien, Dieu est un étranger en ce monde: Il est la "Lumière qui luit dans les ténèbres et que les ténèbres n'ont pas comprises." Il a pris chair pour que l'homme soit restauré dans son image et sa ressemblance divine en tant que *to zôon to theoûmenon*.<sup>5</sup> Il n'intègre pas extrinsèquement le monde selon sa Parole, Il ne l'ordonne pas selon l'économie simple et complexe à la fois de sa Loi --comme dans l'Islam, Il porte témoignage de la Vérité, et sa défaite ou sa "folie" selon le monde est l'épreuve de sa Victoire et de sa Sagesse en l'Esprit.<sup>6</sup> Si Dieu "se déplace" dans l'Incarnation et le Sacrifice, l'âme doit répondre à son *fiat* par un "déplacement" qui n'est autre que l'accueil de l'Etranger, l'accueil du Visiteur divin. C'est ainsi que l'essence de l'hospitalité est don de soi dans l'acquiescement à la Grâce, dans la pauvreté à l'égard de l'Etranger divin et des mille visages qu'Il choisit de prendre à notre rencontre, les "prochains". Dans l'économie de la grâce, l'Autre musulman aura bien constitué<sup>7</sup> pour Massignon l'Hôte divin l'invitant à un "décentrement", l'aiguillon spirituel le contraignant à un changement de plan par la conversion.

On ne comprendra guère en profondeur les positions de Massignon concernant la nature d'Israël et la question de Jérusalem si on ne saisit pas le lien spirituel unissant le déplacement et l'élection. Car l'élection appelle et requiert l'acquiescement, et il n'est d'acquiescement que dans et par le "décentrement" de l'âme et sa "concentration" nouvelle en Dieu. Or, pour Massignon, Israël est "déplacé" par définition. Choisi par Dieu, il est sommé de s'abandonner, de "se déplacer." Et c'est ainsi que Massignon voit en lui une manifestation sainte de

l'archétype spirituel du consentement. A son niveau le plus élevé, cette réalité est désignée par l'Ecriture comme la "vierge d'Israël" (Amos, V, 2)<sup>8</sup>, c'est-à-dire l'essence mystique d'Israël qui est aussi Présence divine, *Schekhina*.<sup>9</sup> Au plan de la réalité historique, ce consentement, qui n'est autre que fidélité à la Thora, se doit d'être constamment renouvelé dans le retour (*techouvah*) vers Dieu.

En tant que catholique, Massignon ne peut que souligner le caractère fondamentalement marial de l'archétype d'Israël, comme l'indique déjà l'expression scripturaire de "vierge d'Israël". Car la Sainte Vierge est elle aussi "déplacée", elle renonce à sa volonté propre pour n'être que la "servante du Seigneur." Elle est "choisie entre toutes les femmes", comme Israël est choisie entre toutes les nations. Marie est le modèle de la pure soumission à Dieu, en tant que telle symbole de l'âme parfaite et exemple de perfection passive, virginale et féminine.<sup>10</sup> Si Massignon voit dans l'Immaculée Conception le "signe marial" de ralliement des diverses confessions de la famille abrahamique c'est, à un premier niveau, parce que la virginité de l'âme ordonnée au *fiat* divin est l'essence de l'Abrahamisme en tant que consentement au sacrifice. Massignon envisage également la "pré-décarnalisation" propre au "signe marial", la pureté surnaturelle et prédestinée de la Sainte Vierge, comme le lieu spirituel et dogmatique d'un oecuménisme spirituel dans la mesure où elle atténue l'incarnationnisme chrétien en surnaturalisant la "chair", laissant ainsi inaccessible la transcendance divine jalousement privilégiée par Juifs et Musulmans.

Précisons que si Marie est femme, elle l'est en un sens "surnaturel", et aussi exemplaire, mais sa "féminité" ne peut être séparée de son consentement au *fiat*, de telle sorte qu'on ne saurait parler sans abus, chez Massignon, d'un féminisme marial; la féminité est pour lui, dans la continuité de toute la tradition monothéiste, toujours référée à un centre ontologique masculin, soit directement comme *fiat* divin, soit indirectement

comme reflet "représentatif" de caractère sexuel et social; à moins que la féminité ne s'entende en un sens purement métaphysique et spirituel, perçue comme essence de l'homme, *Ewigweibliches* mystiquement exprimée par "la Promotion Finale de la femme, la Première 'conception', sans tache, de ce sexe faible nous enlevant en haut, nous incendiant, à la fin, comme le Miroir caché d'Amaterasu-Omikami, au Feu du Buisson Ardent."<sup>11</sup>

En un sens qui n'est pas sans analogie avec l'élection mariale, Israël n'est nation entre toutes les nations que parce qu'elle demeure à l'"écoute" (*Shema Israel*) de Son Seigneur. Le "naturalisme" de la nation est ainsi exhaussée au niveau d'une prédestination surnaturelle. Tout "nationalisme" juif qui ne serait qu'ethnique et "naturel" ne peut donc apparaître que comme une perversion de cette élection. On pourrait presque dire que la "virginité" d'Israël consiste dans son refus de se considérer ou de se laisser considérer comme une "nation" au sens purement naturel, "natif" et donc charnel du terme.

Et c'est ici que Massignon situe précisément sa critique du Sionisme. Prévenons tout d'abord une méprise possible dans l'interprétation de sa pensée: si Israël est "déplacé" par prédestination, ce n'est pas à dire néanmoins que cet excentrement spirituel soit en soi un obstacle au retour des Juifs en Terre Sainte. Toute la question est de savoir dans quel esprit s'opère ce retour. S'agit-il d'un retour "en esprit" et "en vérité", d'un retour en toute humilité dans l'espérance de la promesse, ou bien d'une ruée --courageuse certes, et souvent efficace dans son réalisme horizontal et son habileté technique-- mais marquée au coin du colonialisme civilisationniste, toute ordonnée à la mise en place d'une tête de pont du monde moderne dans ce qui pouvait encore demeurer, il y a un demi-siècle, du monde biblique?

C'est donc l'absence du "recours" à Dieu qui constitue la tare fondamentale de l'entreprise Sioniste, et c'est elle qui, nous rappelle Massignon, est à l'origine de la condamnation du

Sionisme de Herzl par les rabbins orthodoxes à Bâle en 1897.<sup>12</sup> L'absence de "recours à Dieu" n'a pas d'autre conséquence que de dégrader le pèlerinage en entreprise coloniale, la seconde n'étant selon Massignon que l'inversion du premier. Si le pèlerinage est en effet déplacement en direction du centre et retrait intérieur par rapport à ce centre qui nous investit et nous "déplace", nous ouvrant par là à l'Etranger, le colonialisme --profanation de l'hospitalité sacrée-- constitue au contraire un déplacement en forme de conquête et de viol qui n'a d'horizon que l'illusion de puissance prométhéenne qu'inspire un savoir fragmentaire et planimétrique d'apprenti-sorcier. C'est ce type de savoir, et le rapport au monde qui le fonde et le confirme tout à la fois, c'est aussi l'éblouissement collectif devant ses résultats pratiques --en attendant ses retombées moins glorieuses-- qui légitiment aux yeux du "gros animal" colonial l'écrasement de l'Autre ou sa "mise au pas" de l'idolâtrie civilisationniste et technologique.

Par contraste avec cette figure "occidentale" du monde juif, Massignon se réfère volontiers à la personne de Judah Magnes, premier président de l'Université Hébraïque de Jérusalem et animateur islamophile de l'Ihud, mouvement prônant la parité entre Juifs et Arabes dans le cadre d'un état binational.<sup>13</sup> La pensée de Magnes repose sur une manière de "patriotisme spirituel" qui postule l'accès à l'universel et le dépassement du nationalisme par la médiation de l'enracinement traditionnel.<sup>14</sup> La métaphore très terrienne de l'identitaire juif<sup>15</sup>, que les Juifs Réformés ont selon Magne sacrifié à un "universalisme" de prétexte et de tiédeur, suggère la voie d'un véritable Sionisme spirituel, lequel ne reçut qu'un écho fort limité en Israël.

Il convient de rappeler, dans ce contexte, l'importance culturelle et symbolique de la question linguistique. Massignon prône un retour à la pratique spirituelle et à l'esprit des langues sémitiques. Ce n'est pas là pieux conservatisme de surface ni souci archéologique d'historien; il s'agit d'un retour à une

primordialité radicale, à une spiritualisation de la langue, prégnante d'un rapport fondamental à l'être. Ni simple outil de communication, ni simple "constructrice" de mondes culturels, ni simple système symbolique d'appropriation, la langue est articulation de l'être, démultiplication de l'Invocation qui est Présence. Or, pour Massignon, l'arabe est restée la langue la plus fidèle au génie sémitique, la langue marquée au feu de la Présence. D'où son importance pour la communauté juive, qui doit y revivifier son propre génie sémitique. A contrario, la victoire du Judaïsme moderniste et colonial aura été scellée par une victoire fort symbolique sur le plan linguistique:

(L'arabe) reste encore la langue des juifs séfardim et yéménites d'aujourd'hui, qui n'ont malheureusement pas pu faire prévaloir leur lexique technique arabe sur le lexique technique européen lors de la formation en Palestine de l'hébreu scientifique moderne.<sup>16</sup>

Par son rapport d'enracinement spirituel à la langue, l'Islam "aiguillonne" les Juifs en les invitant à une fidélité réaffirmée à leur propre substance linguistique et mystique tout à la fois.<sup>17</sup>

Ce rôle d'"aiguillon" spirituel incombant à l'Islam révèle également sa pertinence à l'égard d'une Chrétienté que Massignon considère comme assoupie et idolâtre. C'est ainsi qu'à l'intention du chrétien qui, converti à la "civilisation" occidentale et à l'enthousiasme technologique, en aurait oublié l'essentiel de son identité spirituelle dans son "alignement" idéologique sur Israël, Massignon n'hésite pas à mettre les points sur les i:

J'ai le devoir de rappeler fortement qu'entre un Etat d'Israel, qui refuse le Messie, soupçonne Jésus, doute de l'honneur de sa Mère, et le 'fanatisme' musulman qui punit canoniquement celui qui doute de la sainteté de

Jésus et de la virginité de Sa Mère, mon choix de chrétien est fait.<sup>18</sup>

L'importance inattendue de la Sainte Vierge dans la question d'Israël peut surprendre. Emporté par un zèle confessionnel peut-être plus "mystique" qu'"objectif", Massignon donne une importance symbolique maximale à certaines positions négatives de la communauté juive de Nazareth relatives à Marie.<sup>19</sup> Il interprète ces opinions --qui ne sauraient être représentatives de celles de l'ensemble des communautés juives-- comme symptômes d'une "non-conformité" spirituelle d'Israel. La reconnaissance de la pureté de Marie lui paraît la condition nécessaire à une renaissance juive dans l'esprit d'Abraham, bien plus, un préalable à toute paix. Il s'agit pour lui d'une question d'intégrité spirituelle. "Honore ton père et ta mère, si veux vivre (avoir longue vie sur la terre)": pour Massignon, Israël se trouve en défaut par rapport à cette injonction du Décalogue. C'est ainsi qu'en 1948, il n'hésite pas à dénoncer la prise de Nazareth par les forces Sionistes en termes de parricide et de matricide:

Devant la Crypte de l'Annonciation, le Sionisme se heurte au Quatrième commandement du Décalogue. "honore ton père et ta mère", si tu veux vivre. Honore les vrais parents du Messie, l'Esprit de Dieu, et la Vierge d'Israël.<sup>20</sup>

Cette parenté messianique constitue une allusion aux trois notions chrétienne, musulmane et juive par lesquelles Massignon entend définir un oecuménisme marial: l'expression "Esprit de Dieu" est une référence directe à l'expression corânique *Ruh Allâh* (Esprit de Dieu), laquelle définit Jésus; quant à la référence à la Vierge d'Israël, elle renvoie comme nous l'avons vu à la réalité spirituelle la plus profonde du Peuple élu tout en connotant de toute évidence son lien avec le



mystère marial. La lecture de Massignon est ainsi tout à fait représentative de sa démarche spirituelle, laquelle consiste à interpréter les positions religieuses qu'il dénonce comme trahison des principes mêmes de l'intégrité spirituelle et morale de la tradition considérée. On est pourtant en droit d'objecter, dans le cas particulier qui nous occupe, que l'argument présenté par Massignon, outre le fait qu'il ne peut se rapporter à la totalité d'Israël, est en son principe déterminé par une orientation chrétienne que la tradition judaïque a, de son point de vue, tous les droits d'ignorer. Nonobstant ces objections, le souci qui doit demeurer au-delà de toute polémique inter-confessionnelle stérile doit être de préserver --ou de promouvoir-- un parfum de sérénité et de respect du sacré dans le jardin des autres comme dans le sien propre.<sup>21</sup>

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'équation mystique opérée par Massignon entre la réalité de Marie et l'essence d'Israël est au coeur de la question. Il s'agit pour Israël, comme pour l'Islam et la Chrétienté, de ne point porter témoignage contre sa propre réalité, contre la "mère de son être", au sens arabe d'une essence et d'une perfection. C'est sans doute en ce sens qu'il faut comprendre ce que Massignon désigne comme le "surclassement" de l'Etat d'Israël par Marie. La Reine "surclasse" la patrie, elle en est "en droit divin" la "goutte-mère". Elle représente le principe spirituel qui préside sacrificiellement au corps social et "naturel". On s'étonnera moins ainsi du rapprochement opéré par Massignon entre les deux figures de Miriam de Nazareth et de Marie-Antoinette:<sup>22</sup> La Reine persécutée est la figure par excellence du destin sacrificiel, de l'esprit persécuté et sacrifié à la chair. Elle assume ainsi une fonction eschatologique de "substituée" dans l'avènement ultime de la Justice de Dieu. Nous sommes ici au coeur d'une vision profondément chrétienne de l'économie spirituelle du monde.

Que représente plus particulièrement Jérusalem dans l'économie de la justice? Elle représente le paradoxe apparent

d'un "centre d'excentrement", si l'on peut dire. Comme tout lieu de pèlerinage, elle "place" l'âme en la déplaçant, elle l'arrache donc à son idolâtrie individualiste pour lui révéler la *qiblah* du coeur.<sup>23</sup> Jérusalem est aussi lieu de pèlerinage en un sens plus particulier. Elle est la ville sainte (la racine QDSH ou QDS du Saint des Saints de la plus pure inaccessibilité) où convergent les trois lignées de la famille d'Abraham. Elle est le lieu de "déplacement" où chaque communauté doit réaliser, en le sublimant, son propre désir de Justice, car "on ne possède spirituellement que ce à quoi on a matériellement renoncé ici-bas".<sup>24</sup> C'est ici que se réalise la descendance abrahamique des trois religions:

Là (à Jérusalem), j'ai compris qu'Abraham était le père de toutes les croyances, qu'il a été le pèlerin, le gèr, celui qui a quitté les siens, qui a fait pacte d'amitié avec les pays étrangers où il venait en pèlerin, que la Terre Sainte n'était pas le monopole d'une race, mais la terre promise à tous les pèlerins comme lui.<sup>25</sup>

Jérusalem est aussi une de ces zones de contact conflictuel où émerge dans toute sa plus violente intensité le désir de la Justice:

Ces zones de douleur sont naturellement localisées à la surface de frottement et d'osmose de deux cultures, ces cris apocalyptiques, eschatologiques, des affamés de Justice, pour étranges qu'ils soient peuvent être interprétés, et mis dans leur vraie valeur, quand on découvre qu'ils ont, en commun, des deux côtés, la mémoire de promesses passées qui devient, dans l'épreuve, désir d'un avènement de la Justice, ou, plus simplement, le besoin d'une coïncidence intelligible entre la promesse remémorée, et son exaucement: "tu ne me chercherais pas, si tu ne m'avais déjà trouvé."<sup>26</sup>

C'est le sentiment d'Absolu, essence du désir de Justice, qui éclate d'autant plus intensément dans le relatif que l'impossibilité de sa réalisation se confirme. Loin d'être une simple convergence immédiate, l'oecuménisme de Massignon apparaît presque, en sa substance collective, comme un "oecuménisme de l'opposition", une ordalie en vue de la Justice. La seule issue véritablement transcendante consisterait à reconnaître l'Absolu, et donc ma propre soif de justice en tant qu'il s'y rapporte, dans cette affirmation autre qui contredit mon propre désir. L'opposition révèle un désir de Justice que le plan des oppositions ne saurait, précisément, livrer: elle appelle à un déplacement vers le haut qui est la condition *sine qua non* de toute paix. On comprend en quel sens, très profond et infiniment plus "pertinent" que toute considération géopolitique, Massignon peut avancer que le destin du monde se joue à Jérusalem. Conçue comme simple lieu de "déplacement" charnel, la Ville sainte ne peut être que prétexte à une négation de l'autre au nom du sentiment d'absolu qui anime telle foi, sentiment d'absolu qui se trouve d'ailleurs aujourd'hui plus qu'entaché d'idolâtrie et prétexte à toutes manières de parodies ou de perversions religieuses. La revendication exclusive du "nationalisme religieux" (quel qu'il soit) ne peut donc qu'exacerber la violence du cycle d'action et de réaction qui résulte de l'incapacité à se "déplacer", manquement à ce que Frithjof Schuon appelle l'"objectivité", cette capacité à se regarder du dehors, à renoncer à son illusoire centralité, à mourir à soi-même.

Toute la question est de savoir si la communauté religieuse, dans toute sa contingence sociale et psychologique, peut être capable de ce "déplacement". Sur ce point, on retiendra deux passages de Massignon qui nous permettent de prendre la mesure de ce que l'on pourrait désigner comme son "eschatologie mystico-politique". D'une part, il semble que l'on doive distinguer chez lui, dans la plus pure tradition catholique de la distinction entre Eglise terrestre et Corps mystique, un

collectif-masse, une matière sociologique, plus ou moins déterminée par un principe de pesanteur, et d'autre part, dimension surnaturelle de ce collectif, une "entité surnaturelle" cristallisée au point de convergence de l'intériorisation spirituelle des "pélerins" qui se déplacent vers Dieu ou que Dieu déplace. S'il est un "salut collectif", il ne peut que procéder de ce second pôle:

Je crois profondément qu'à travers toutes les erreurs, les scandales et les crimes, la réalité finale de l'histoire humaine se construit avec la somme de nos personnalités définitives, telles que notre soif de justice surhumaine les unifie et, par cela même, les immortalise.<sup>27</sup>

L'histoire est donc finalisée par le désir de Dieu, et ce désir prévaut *en définitive* sur les turbulences multiples et tapageuses de l'idolâtrie collective. Massignon va jusqu'à parler de la "construction", à partir des "intersignes" que nouent les rencontres fulgurantes et discontinues du Ciel et de la terre, d'une entité transhistorique qui lui apparaît comme la sécrétion mystique des identités terrestres vouées à l'Eternel:

Ainsi se construit, pour chaque personne, chaque cité, chaque groupe, sa physionomie définitive, surhistorique; par des séries de constatations inopinées, de 'surprises' et de 'reconnaissances' convergentes, que le plus judicieux des freudiens, Jung, de Zurich, minimise en les réduisant à des réapparitions cycliques d'archétypes naturels. Ce n'est pas dans la nature, dans le cadre des paysages sauvages que ces constructions s'ébauchent ici-bas, mais dans le décor artificiel et mouvant de la vie sociale des cités, des Babylones que ces Jérusalem de la surnature feront crouler; pour s'achever avec leurs ruines; comme les 'voix-de-ville' s'assourdissent au son solennel des cris de la douleur parturiente, des ondines apocalyptiques.<sup>28</sup>

Remarquons bien que le principe de cette apocalypse est moins collectif que personnel, il se construit à partir de la personne comme consentement au *fiat* pour rayonner ensuite dans la dimension collective. C'est d'ailleurs la raison pour laquelle certains "pôles" religieux à vocation sociale peuvent en quelque sorte aimanter un faisceau de forces spirituelles efficaces. A propos de l'Inde et de la fonction de Gandhi, Massignon peut ainsi écrire:

Et je crois, très profondément, au rayonnement social authentique, à travers les siècles, de certaines personnalités religieuses saintes qui sont à l'origine ou aux noeuds de ces lignes de force spirituelle.<sup>29</sup>

Le "pôle" qu'a en vue Massignon est donc une personnalité "intermédiaire", faisant en quelque sorte le lien entre l'intérieur et l'extérieur. Il ne s'agit donc pas de figures de sainteté "invisibles" sur le modèle de l'initiation élianique, mais de personnalités plus engagées dans la contingence et donc sans doute plus "mixtes" spirituellement, tel Gandhi. Reste à savoir à quel niveau et jusqu'à quel point le "rappel" de ces "personnalités religieuses saintes" peut faire émerger la Justice. L'eschatologie de Massignon tend à faire "descendre" la Justice divine dans l'histoire humaine par ses fins dernières. On a parfois le sentiment que les engagements concrets de Massignon l'ont conduit à donner au Règne de la Justice des déterminations et des "assises" peut-être trop terrestres. Sa vision d'une incarnation de la Justice aura sans doute été en ce sens largement tributaire des exigences de sa vocation propre, de son "voeu" intérieur et de son "destin" extérieur. Le commentaire du *Zohar* cité plus haut nous semble suggérer une réponse à la fois plus elliptique et plus "spirituellement réelle" à la question du salut collectif par Jérusalem. Le relèvement d'Israël --et par extension de toute religion "tombée" et

pervertie dans sa manifestation terrestre-- ne saurait être son propre fait.<sup>30</sup> On constate, à la suite d'Amos, à quel point se trouve "décimée" l'"armée d'Israël",<sup>31</sup> et la Kabbale fait écho à ce constat en soulignant la rareté croissante, en temps de confusion, des *Mequballim*, de ceux qui reçoivent, conservent et transmettent le véritable or spirituel.<sup>32</sup> Loin d'y puiser des prétextes à quelque morosité ou à quelque désespoir que ce soit, le *Zohar* nous enseigne à trouver dans ce déséquilibre d'autant plus marqué entre la faiblesse humaine et la Miséricorde divine, les plus belles et les plus profondes raisons d'espérer ce jour où "Yahvé sera unique et son nom unique."<sup>33</sup>

**Patrick Laude**

*Georgetown University  
The French department*

### Notes

1. Il convient cependant de distinguer entre un "déplacement" volontaire--celui du mystique qui fait "place" à Dieu par le contentement et le sacrifice, et le "déplacement" forcé des groupes humains expatriés, des "refugiés" que le monde moderne livre sans abri aux quatre vents de sa confusion.
2. Le *fiat* divin et la "commotion" humaine sont aussi pour Massignon des notions essentielles de l'anthropologie spirituelle de l'Islam. Elles renvoient en effet à l'ordre divin existenciant (*kun* ou *kuni*) et à la *khachiyya* (terreur révérentielle) du Qurân.
3. "Réponses de Louis Massignon à deux enquêtes sur Dieu", in Bulletin de l'Association des Amis de Louis Massignon, numéro 6, septembre 1997, pp.28-30.
4. Ibid., p.29.
5. "Animal divinisable", comme Jacques Berque propose de traduire l'expression de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. *L'Islam au défi*, Paris, 1980, p.141.
6. Pascal voyait dans le triomphe temporel de l'Islam la marque de sa "fausseté" et dans la Crucifixion la preuve la plus profonde de la vérité du Christianisme. On ne saurait être, en un sens qui n'épuise certes pas tout le Christianisme, plus chrétien.
7. Comme l'abien montré Amira El-Zein dans son étude "The concept of the Other in Massignon's Spirituality" présentée lors du Colloque Massignon qui s'est tenu à l'Université Notre Dame du 2 au 5 octobre 1997.
8. "Écoutez cette parole que je prononce sur vous, une lamentation, maison d'Israel: Elle est tombée. elle ne se relèvera plus, la vierge d'Israel! Elle gît sur son propre sol, nul ne la relève! Car ainsi parle le Seigneur Yahvé

- à la maison d'Israel. *La ville qui mettait mille homme en compagne n'en aura plus que cent, et celle qui en mettait cent n'en aura plus que dix.*" La Sainte Bible traduite en français sous la direction de l'École Biblique de Jerusalem, Paris: Le Cerf, 1961.
9. Le *Zohar* commente le verset d'Amos ("La vierge d'Israel est tombée, elle ne se relèvera plus") dans le sens d'une totale incapacité d'Israel à "se relever" par lui-même. Le salut de la "vierge tombée" est tout entier entre les mains de Dieu: "lorsqu'elle était auparavant en exil, à la date prévue, elle retournait d'elle-même au Roi. A présent, en cet exil-ci, le Saint, béni soit-Il, ira Lui-même la prendre par la main; Il la relèvera, la reconfortera et la ramènera en Son palais". Le *Zohar*, trad. Edith Ochs, édition de Gershom Scholem, Paris: Le Seuil, 1980, p.103
  10. Massignon aime à rappeler que devant Dieu "l'âme se trouve femme."
  11. Méditation d'un passant aux bois sacrés d'Isé", *Parole donnée*, p. 420.
  12. "La Palestine et la paix", p.465.
  13. "Parity, we contend, is the one just relationship between the different nationalities of a multi-national state" in *Palestine, Divided or United?*, p.33. J. L. Magne, 1983 ) the UN special committee on Palestine", 14 July 1947.
  14. "After you have rooted yourself in your nation you can overcome nationalism" *Dissenter in Zion*, Harvard, 1982, p.226.
  15. "Their feet firmly planted on the Jewish earth", *Ibid.*, p.227.
  16. "La sauvegarde des cultures dans leur originalité (1948), *Opera minora I*, p. 206.
  17. On ne s'étonnera donc point que les Kabbalistes ou Kabbalisants soient souvent les plus islamophiles des Juifs. Cf. Martin Buber ou Gershom Scholem dont la pensée et l'action furent parallèles à celles de Judah Magnes.
  18. "Rapport de la mission d'information envoyée auprès des réfugiés de Bethléem en Terre Sainte par le comité catholique de secours" (1949), *Opera minora III*, P.504.
  19. " (...) Ni en Palestine, ni ailleurs, le monde n'aura de paix dans la justice tant qu'Israel ne revisera pas le procès de la Mère de Jésus. Il ne s'agit pas tant des calomnies grossières du Sefer Toldoth Jeschu (et de leur écho talmudique), que du jugement canonique de la Communauté juive de Nazareth ("mischmar cohenim", ne l'oublions pas) faisant radier, avant Barcochèbas, de nom de père légal de Jésus ("un tel") dans les rouleaux généalogiques (megilloth juschasin), avec cette glose marginale 'fils d'une adultère'; glose signalée par R. Schim'on bar 'Azzai; jugement canonique que la conscience d'Israel doit casser : s'il veut revivre." "La Palestine et la paix dans la justice" (1948), *Opera Minora III*, p.470.
  20. "Nazareth et nous, Nazaréens, Nasara" (1948), *Opera Minora III*, p.493.
  21. Hatôns-nous de préciser que ce défaut de conformité n'a rien d'une exclusivité juive et se fait jour trop souvent en Islam comme en Chrétienté.
  22. "L'Etat d'Israël n'a pas encore compris que Miriam de Nazareth le surclasse. (...) En Marie-Antoinette surgit l'indignité de la Femme, qui témoignera au dernier jour contre tous les persécuteurs, --comme elle obtenait, aux temps anciens, devant le juge en Chine, le dernier, le maître

- mot.” “Bicentenaire de la naissance de Marie-Antoinette”, *Opera Minora* III, p.687.
23. C’est en vertu de ce principe que l’Islam définit le Hajj, sur la base d’un *hadîth*, comme le monachisme de l’Islam.
  24. “Ce qu’est la Terre Sainte pour les communautés humaines qui demandent justice” (1948). *Opera Minora* III, p.474.
  25. Extrait des Trois prières d’Abraham cité par Pierre Rocalve, “Louis Massignon et Abraham”, *Luqmân*, 13e année, numéro 2, 1997, 26, p.30.
  26. *Opera Minora* III, p.126.
  27. “Ce qu’est la Terre sainte...”, *Opera Minora* III, p.472.
  28. *Opera Minora* I, p.128.
  29. “Ce qu’est la Terre sainte...”, *Opera Minora* III, p.472-3.
  30. Massignon aurait sans doute frémi d’indignation aux improvisations liturgiques et à la démagogie profanatrice de certaines manifestations de l’Eglise post-conciliaire, comme aux abominations de violence haineuse de certains secteurs du monde contemporain se réclamant de l’Islam.
  31. Nous ne sommes pas loin non plus du moment où, selon un *hadîth*, “l’Islam ne sera plus qu’un nom”, et nous ne commenterons point ici le dérarroi d’un Christianisme pris aux pièges du monde.
  32. “Les ‘colonnes du peuple exilé (...) semblent devenues une infime minorité à notre époque où triomphe la civilisation d’ ‘Edom’, ce monde moderne que l’on a transplanté en Terre Sainte même.” Leo Schaya, *L’Homme et l’Absolu selon la Kabbale*, Paris: Devry-Livres, 1977, p.167.
  - 33 Zacharie, 14,9.





The Splendor Solis of Salomon,  
from an alchemical  
manuscript  
of the 16th century

## **"TO SAVE WHAT CAN BE SAVED"**

**Reading Between the Lines  
of Palestinian Strategy on Jerusalem†**

An atmosphere of gloom and resignation is descending upon Arab Jerusalem now that negotiations for the final status of the city and the Palestinian territories as a whole are scheduled to begin. Prompting this mood is a distinct backseat policy on the part of the Palestinian leadership which has refrained from mobilizing grassroots communities to advance a broad-based strategy in defense of Arab Jerusalem.

The void thus created appears to be filled only by the roar of Israeli bulldozers completing the stranglehold of roads and settlements around the city. Whether the Palestinian strategy and Israeli settlement building can be regarded as conjunctive phenomena or not, a drastic turnabout in either is needed to prevent the rising bitterness and anger of Palestinian communities from boiling over.

Already simmering are the villages and the neighborhoods around the city, which are hardest hit by the ongoing wave of Israeli land expropriations and the effects of the closure on the Palestinian territories. With Israeli bulldozers closing in upon their fields and neighborhoods, Palestinian citizens wonder what is keeping the Palestinian leadership from taking a stand. Perhaps this is because there is a basis to the rumor that "the final battle for Jerusalem"—as coined by the media—has already been decided behind the scenes. If so, the

ground has been prepared for an agreed compromise solution. Where, then, will the limit to the bulldozers' advance ? Will it be at the planned Jewish settlement of Har Homa, the first of a projected Israeli belt in South Jerusalem designed for more than 80,000 settlers?

### **"Battle for Jerusalem"**

Even if the Palestinian leadership is compromising their "Battle for Jerusalem," Palestinian Jerusalemites as a whole have not yet acquiesced to Israeli plans for Greater Jerusalem. However, for Palestinians to effectively ward off Israeli bulldozers, a publicly considered and agreed upon strategy is vital.

To lay the foundations for such a strategy to save Arab Jerusalem, crucial questions must be asked. Is there a common Palestinian view about what is at stake? And if so, does this view transcend the conventional framework of religious and cultural symbolism? Do Palestinians regard Jerusalem as being capable of either making or breaking a self-sustaining Palestinian future?

A map of the current situation illustrates how the Palestinian future is being broken. It reveals how Arab Jerusalem is isolated from the surrounding Palestinian towns and villages and is situated within a wide strip of territory under direct Israeli control bisecting the West Bank from west to east. Arab Jerusalem itself is disintegrated into fragmented neighborhoods, with one cluster fanning out towards Ramallah and another towards Bethlehem.

The pre-1967 map of the West Bank, however, shows Arab East Jerusalem as the one Palestinian location to connect the Northern West Bank with the southern West Bank. Major road links from all directions, except the west, converged in East Jerusalem, enabling metropolitan functionality and linking the regional Palestinian markets to the Arab hinterland beyond the Jordan East Bank.

With one eye on the pre-1967 map and the other on the

map of the current situation, how should the strategic objective of retrieving Arab Jerusalem be formulated? Should Palestinians ask themselves how *little* of the scattered quarters *within* the strip under direct Israeli control needs to be recovered in order to maintain Arab Jerusalem as even the titular Palestinian capital? Or must they ask how *much* of that strip needs to be retrieved in order to unleash Arab Jerusalem's full potential as a capital in more than just a ceremonial sense? Is the functioning of Jerusalem as a real Palestinian capital dependent upon its capacity to once again function as a geographic crossroad, linking all Palestinian territories? And how decisive is the rehabilitation of both the city and its surroundings?

To date, there is scant, if any, evidence of a publicly documented and defended Palestinian position approaching the issue of Arab Jerusalem along such lines. Nor does any Palestinian address this issue in terms of meeting minimum Palestinian needs in order to avert the impending disaster illustrated clearly by the map of Israeli Greater Jerusalem.

### THE BATTLE'S AFTERMATH

For us to visualize Arab Jerusalem's options during the upcoming negotiations, it is useful to review the crucial elements of both the pre- and post-1967 situation on the accompanying map. These are:

1. the Green Line separating the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, from Israel and West Jerusalem.
2. the extended limits of the so-called Kendall Town Plan, endorsed by Jordan in 1966 and designed to include in Arab Jerusalem all Palestinian villages located in the city's immediate environs.

These two elements provided for Arab sovereignty in the West Bank, and allowed for Arab Jerusalem to develop as the major Palestinian metropolis.

The next elements are steadily annulling and aborting the

above prospects for Arab Jerusalem. These are:

1. the extended Israeli municipal boundary fixed after 1967, which included a maximum of Arab land around the Old City, but a minimum of Palestinian residents, necessitating the exclusion of suburbs like Abu Dis, Al-E'izariya, Ar-Ram and Anata.
2. the total of existing and projected Israeli construction in Greater Jerusalem.
3. the area of Israeli Greater Jerusalem next to the urban core of Jerusalem, which contains the sizeable settlement blocs of Giv'at Ze'ev, Ma'ale Adumim and Etzion.

The above developments have already rendered successful Israel's "Battle for Jerusalem" on the ground. It now aims to merely gain legitimation for the battle's aftermath. For Palestinians to restart the "Battle for Jerusalem," they must attempt to restore the legitimacy already accorded to the Green Line and the Kendall Town Plan.

The impetus of the Israeli campaign to muster international support for, or acquiescence to, "Jerusalem as the eternal capital of the Jewish people" is well known. This campaign is unambiguously defined, resourcefully conducted and geared towards a worldwide, mainly Western, audience. A major aspect of this campaign is to convince the world that Palestinians also have a place in Israeli Greater Jerusalem.

The Palestinian campaign, on the other hand, is the antithesis of that of the Israelis in every single respect. In fact, all of the strengths attributed above to the Israeli campaign are precisely that which the Palestinian campaign is lacking. It is, for the most part, formalistically and legalistically defined and is without a publicly considered strategic aim. Palestinian leaders have not committed any resources for public mobilization, they have not initiated any kind of worthwhile public relations drive and, most decisively, do not organize around their local constituencies.

The already distinct gap between the cause for Arab Jerusalem and how it is pursued by the Palestinian leadership widened dramatically when the Oslo Accord was signed in 1993. Oslo meant that reference to the pre-1967 status of the West Bank and Gaza, including East Jerusalem, was subordinated to the principle of reaching a bilateral Israeli-Palestinian agreement concerning the final status of these areas. Negotiations have revolved around the jurisdictional scope—both in terms of territory and authority—which is being transferred by Israel to the Palestinians. Until now this has meant Israeli redeployment from most Palestinian population centers in the West Bank and Gaza, with administrative control in these areas being transferred to the Palestinian Authority.

Officially, the Palestinian leadership is still adamant in demanding—in the framework of an open city—a sovereign Arab East Jerusalem as the Palestinian capital alongside West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Likewise, Israel is still insistent upon Jerusalem as the unified capital of the Jewish people. There are, however, firm indications that both sides have grown appreciative of the Oslo process as a vehicle to reach accommodation somewhere in between their opposing positions. It should be noted, though, that "accommodation" will likely be arrived at much closer to Israel's original position on Jerusalem than that of the Palestinians.

### **ACCOMMODATION**

How would Israeli and Palestinian negotiators successfully map out this accommodation? The vital mechanism would be to exploit the separation agreed upon in Oslo between the issue of Jerusalem in its "narrow" (municipal) sense and the city surroundings categorized as West Bank territory (but also designated by Israel as "Greater Jerusalem"). Israel ceding most of the Palestinian suburbs within that West Bank area to Arab East Jerusalem could be presented as a tangible exchange for

Palestinian tacit recognition of Jewish habitation in the West Bank part of Greater Jerusalem. This arrangement would then be formalized in the final status agreement.

To specify the details of this exchange let us take a closer look at the area of Greater Jerusalem. The map illustrates municipal Jerusalem (west and east) as its urban core, and an outer area surrounding this core, most of which is in the West Bank. The outer area is composed of two sections. One is made up of the Palestinian suburbs included in the Kendall Town Plan, but excluded from Israeli annexed East Jerusalem in 1967. It comprises for instance, Ar-Ram, Anata, E'izariya and Abu Dis, altogether numbering close to 90,000 inhabitants (compared to the 160,000 Palestinian Jerusalemites within the municipality). The other area is made up of the above mentioned blocs of Jewish settlements around Givat Ze'ev, Ma'ale Adumim and Etzion.

How can the two outer sections of Greater Jerusalem be compared? To begin with, the Palestinian section included in this area is much smaller than the Israeli section. But more crucial: while the Palestinian section lacks developmental prospects—that is, development of housing, industry and trade links—such prospects are abundant in the Israeli section. The population of the Palestinian section is 100,000 in an area four times smaller than that of the Israeli section, which has 50,000 Jewish settlers. The two sections' difference in potential trade and industrial development can be extrapolated by comparing their network of road links. Palestinian Greater Jerusalem's road links are restricted to only one north-south axis, which links the two separated West Bank districts of Ramallah and Bethlehem. Sorely lacking is the eastern road through metropolitan Jerusalem linking these districts to the vital Arab hinterland in the east. This road link is commanded by, and connected Israeli Greater Jerusalem, and is projected as the western city's major axis of future development. From the above comparison, we can begin to see that Israel would gain far more than

Palestinians through a deal as outlined above.

### PROPOSALS FOR PALESTINIAN GREATER JERUSALEM

An interesting series of reports in the Israeli and Palestinian press over the last six months sheds some light on the Palestinian leaders' preparedness for such an exchange. The Israeli weekly *Kol Ha'ir* on March 3, 96 discussed the political uproar created by Jerusalem Mayor Olmert after he accused Cabinet Minister Yossi Beilin of agreeing to "divide the city" by secretly expressing to Palestinian leaders Israel's willingness to relinquish municipal authority over Arab East Jerusalem neighborhoods on certain conditions. Furthermore, Olmert charged that a detailed map of this plan had been "leaked" in October 1995 to Palestinian Minister of Jerusalem Affairs Faisal Husseini, who is based in the Orient House.

Although Olmert's claims were dismissed as "electoral campaign theatre" by the Hebrew media, little doubt lingered regarding whether Israeli government officials were engaged in reviewing suggestions about Jerusalem with Palestinian leaders. One of these suggestions is of particular interest. It concerns an Israeli government commissioned study by the Jerusalem Institute of Israel Studies. This suggestion proposes that the city be considered not only within its narrow municipal boundaries, but also in the framework of "Greater Jerusalem," and that municipal authority be divided according to the composition of Jewish and Palestinian neighborhoods. Finally, authority in the Old City would be delegated along religious-communal-Muslim, Christian and Jewish-lines...

How was this suggestion received in Palestinian circles? The same news report proceeded to remind readers of the striking similarity between the institute's suggestion and an already publicized Palestinian proposal for the final status of Jerusalem. Advanced by the head of the Orient House's Map Department Khalil Tufakji, this proposal appeared in the



Palestinian daily *An-Nahar* on October 11, 95, the month that corresponds with Mayor Olmert's allegations.

While echoing the institute's charting of the Palestinian parts of "split" municipal authority (in and especially beyond the current municipal limits), the Palestinian proposal supposes amendments which are, in effect, devoid of substance. It considers the areas of Palestinian municipal authority as being based on the principle of divided sovereignty, resulting in two adjacent capitals in the framework of one open city. This proposal did not refer to an encapsulating administrative framework of "lesser" Jerusalem (current West and East Jerusalem, with the prospective addition of Palestinian suburbs like Ar-Ram, Al-E'izariya and Abu Dis) or "Greater Jerusalem." Instead, it elaborated on the prospects for a Palestinian version of Greater Jerusalem, which would not be even a mere shadow of the original Kendall scheme.

This Palestinian proposal, if endorsed by the Palestinian leadership as an official position, could lead to the "accommodation" referred to above. However, reservations about this proposal have already been expressed. In an article in *An-Nahar*, October 24, 95 geographer Muhammed Al-Nakhal, also based in the Orient House, strongly rejected the principle endorsed by Tufakji of religious-communal based authority in the Old City, and questioned the legitimation of Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem in the above proposal. Instead, Al-Nakhal was reported in another recent news item (*Yediot Aharonot*, March 15, 96) as calling for a large-scale effort to maximally use and enlarge the housing capacity of Arab Jerusalem, not only within, but particularly beyond, the current municipal boundary.

Al-Nakhal asserts that a concerted Palestinian planning and development effort, stimulated by a generous mortgage policy could, for instance, raise the current total population located in the Palestinian Autonomy areas around Abu Dis from 30,000 to 150,000. Nakhal likewise says that Palestinians

should take full advantage of the housing construction permitted them by Israeli zoning plans, particularly in order to revitalize Arab Jerusalem's Central Business District in between the Old City and Beit Hanina.

In other words, reinforcing the areas of prospective and existing Palestinian authority is, according to this view, the current viable strategic option for Arab Jerusalem. Whatever the differences between the first proposal and Al-Nakhal's viewpoint, at long last something resembling a strategic discussion seemed to get off the ground in the Palestinian community. However, the Palestinian leadership is disinclined to stage a public debate upon such positions and, as if from fear of committing themselves, neither overtly endorsed nor denounced either viewpoint. Silence is a telling sign.

The only possible result of this back and forth regarding Palestinian proposals can be to utterly confuse the Palestinian public. To decipher these "official" Palestinian proposals, the public should concentrate on what they have in common. Only then may an alternative be formulated.

### **THE OSLO MECHANISM**

What today appears to be the lowest common Palestinian "strategic" denominator can be summarized as: a goal of maximal Palestinian authority over at least the populated areas of Palestinian Greater Jerusalem.

The Oslo process would allow this goal to be attained. The Oslo-generated mechanism and momentum of Palestinian autonomization—begun with Gaza and Jericho and moving through the West Bank—will not halt at the current border of Israeli-annexed East Jerusalem. Palestinian leaders likely view autonomization's limits as the ones imposed by the walls of Jewish settlements in Jerusalem. If Israeli settlements cannot be dislodged, the logic of the Palestinian leadership may conclude, then focus should be shifted towards incorporating all existing Arab neighborhoods around the city into Palestinian Greater

Jerusalem.

Instead of fighting the uphill battle based on international law resolutions calling for Israeli withdrawal from all of East Jerusalem, Palestinian leaders are trying for the more territorially limited, but far more expedient, option of—to use their words—“saving what can be saved.” These leaders' rationale is that the establishment of some form of municipal authority in Palestinian Greater Jerusalem would render the limitations imposed by Israeli Greater Jerusalem obsolete, thus creating the conditions for the demographic reinvigoration of Arab Jerusalem. This, they contend, would erect a Palestinian population barrier to contain and preclude the dreaded expansion of Jewish settlements in and around Jerusalem.

But how realistic is such an aim in strategic terms? And would it be enough to save Arab Jerusalem? These questions bring us to the issue of alternative municipal borders and the scope and nature of prospective Palestinian authority in Arab Jerusalem, and to the prospects for socio-economic development these enable or disable. The crucial equation to formulate is the relation between territorial extent and jurisdictional integrity of Palestinian sovereignty. No matter how sovereign a state appears on paper, without the proper disposal of territorial resources and infrastructure, this dominion remains only formal (cases in point being Liechtenstein and San Marino).

### **SOVEREIGNTY OR AUTONOMY?**

Much debate has occurred over the mixed blessings of a variety of models bestowing a range of “sovereignty” to the Palestinian citizens of Jerusalem. However, in every single model ultimate sovereignty resides with Israel while Palestinians are granted varying degrees of autonomy, true to the Oslo paradigm. Moreover, the substance of that debate is inadequately linked to the spatial context characterizing present-day Jerusalem. This

deficiency serves to obfuscate the limitations imposed by settlements and roads on the size and shape of Palestinian areas and, in turn, the degree of potential Palestinian autonomy.

The main models being proposed are termed:

1. shared sovereignty
2. split sovereignty
3. divided sovereignty.

Model (1) would result in a joint Israeli-Palestinian municipal council for the city's two unified sections, within or beyond the current city boundaries, eventually reaching the line around "Greater Jerusalem."

Model (2) would be based on separately defined municipal authority for the Jewish and Palestinian city parts, eventually in two municipal councils for one city, or in two sub-councils, participating in one overall city council with the same potential borders as Model (1).

Model (3) would provide for two independent city councils, one for each city section, eventually within the framework of one open city.

The first two models are those clearly favored by Israel as providing for optimal instruments to control and contain Palestinian efforts to reconstruct Arab Jerusalem as a virtual capital by perpetuating Israeli domination in the center and along the vital west-east transport axis. The only development prospects left for Palestinians would be the still open areas in the northern and southern margins of Arab Jerusalem, near Ar-Ram and Sur Baher respectively.

The model most favored by Palestinians would be the third. Without Israeli infringement upon Palestinian municipal authority, nothing seems to stand in the way of reconstructing Arab Jerusalem. Such an assessment is, however, deceptive. If Palestinian authority was to be restricted to the grey shaded areas on the map, it would fall short of the minimum requirements for Arab Jerusalem to function as a veritable capital.

The real verdict on an Oslo-inspired strategy to "save what can be saved" of Arab Jerusalem comes graphically alive through a comparison of its territorial configuration with the outlines of the original Kendall Town Plan, including the prospects it enabled. "Saving what can be saved" results in a scattered and disabled city, and its deficiencies are remarkably similar to those of the Palestinian autonomous entity likely to emerge in the West Bank as a whole.

In other words, the Kendall Town Plan will be diminished to a microcosm of the post-Oslo II West Bank. Palestinian Autonomy habitation, infrastructure and resource disposal will be constricted to a narrow territorial strip from north to south, devoid of crucial resources in adjacent west-east areas. Moreover, it is bisected at the center, which is lost to Israel and which includes the vital connection toward the Arab markets east of the Jordan River.

*Jan De Jong*

†. The author expresses his gratitude for editing assistance on this article by Nathan Krystall.

\* **Jan De Jong** is a land-use planning consultant for the Society of St. Yves, a legal aid and resource center in Jerusalem.

## ISRAELI APPROACHES TO JERUSALEM

Since the beginning of the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations in Madrid onwards, numerous conferences, meetings and seminars have been organized on what has become known as the "question of Jerusalem" and hundreds of articles, documents and books have been published. However, despite a significant Palestinian contribution to this body of work, the scholarly work as well as policy debates have been dominated by Israelis.

Despite the articulation of various Israeli discourses (scientific, media, political, etc.) on the question of Jerusalem and therefore diverse political positions, a quasi-hegemonic discourse has clearly emerged since 1967. This discourse, constituted from a variety of historical, cultural, political, ideological and religious references, has helped to shape the Israeli public opinion but also to support or justify the policies of successive Israeli governments. Research carried out, as much as the scientific and "objective" discourse, has contributed to the articulation of this quasi-hegemonic discourse. It has also provided the Israeli establishment with the arguments necessary to shape and support their position on Jerusalem. Within this context, an analysis of Israeli research on Jerusalem may help to better understand the main parameters of Israel's position and strategy vis-a-vis the final status negotiations .

## **ISRAELI APPROACHES TO JERUSALEM: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

From an analysis of the formulas being proposed by Israeli activists and researchers from the beginning of Israeli-Palestinian meetings on the subject (such as that organized by *New Outlook* in 1993, the series of round-table discussions held by IPCRI or the round-table organized by the *Palestine-Israel Journal*) and proposal published by the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, the main elements of the Israeli approaches have been identified as following.

1. The majority of Israeli researchers and activists consider that it is out of the question to negotiate the question of Jerusalem within the framework of the international law and resolutions of the United Nations. Since the DOP was signed, they argue that the bi-lateral agreements signed by Israelis and Palestinians prevail over the international one. Therefore, they oppose to any kind of participation from the international bodies. Eventually, they may offer to involve other parties such as the Jordanian, the Vatican, the Saudis, Morocco etc. on the religious issue since they separate the religious question from the political one.
2. Israeli politicians and researchers have succeeded in raising the Jerusalem question as if it only concerns East Jerusalem and not West Jerusalem. The framework for the negotiations has probably been developed according to this point of view.
3. The majority of researchers affirm that there is no ultimate solution on Jerusalem. The Palestinian claims (to establish their capital in East Jerusalem) are not bridgeable with the Israeli interests. Therefore, "conflict management" appears to be the main option to cope with the situation and eventually to create a new *modus vivendi* on Jerusalem.
4. Several researchers and activists divide the Jerusalem question into three main issues: the religious question, the administrative question at the municipal level and the

sovereignty. This was the approach suggested by Meron Benvenisti several years ago. Within this framework, they propose to negotiate on the easiest issues like the infrastructures and municipal affairs and to go towards the most difficult one. The step by step approach is favored by most of the Israeli researchers.

5. The question of sovereignty represents the core of the problem around which Palestinians and Israelis oppose each other. Therefore, Israelis suggest either to postpone the debate over the sovereignty (this is the position of Benvenisti), to suspend the claims for sovereignty (Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies) or to diffuse or to divide sovereignty in several "functional" issues that will be negotiate according to a time-table.

Despite the doubts cast by some researchers on the Israeli "consensus" on Jerusalem, the formulas being proposed by Israeli activists and researchers are based on the principle of safeguarding the territorial unity of Jerusalem. As expressed by Naomi Chazan, for Israelis, that position is neither questioned nor questionable:

Any notion of the redivision of Jerusalem into East and West is technically impossible and politically virtually impossible. Therefore, the city will remain undivided. (Round-Table, *Palestine- Israel Journal*, 1995, p. 92)

Secondly, it is clear that to the vast majority of researchers, politicians and activists the settlements in East Jerusalem are there to stay under the Israeli control. As Gershon Baskin, the Israeli director of IPCRI states, "For most Israelis, the new Jewish neighborhoods built in East Jerusalem after 1967 must remain under Israeli sovereignty. There can be no compromise on this" (Baskin, 1994, p. 104).

To try and reconcile Israeli interests with certain Palestinian demands, several researchers and activists have



been inclined to offer a certain level of autonomy or "sovereignty" to Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem and/or to the Palestinian Authority (PA). These three components (territorial unity, maintenance of the Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem and autonomy for the Palestinian residents) constitute the point of departure of the Israeli strategy in these negotiations. Therefore, for Israelis involved in the negotiations, it is necessary that they find a formula which respects these elements while at the same time offering certain concessions to the Palestinians, notably some kind of power-sharing at the local level and over the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem.

For Gershon Baskin, the Israeli director of IPCRI, the solution to reconciling the continuation of Israeli sovereignty and control over the East Jerusalem settlements and a Palestinian "sovereignty" is to declare that, in this age of global interdependence, the concept of absolute sovereignty has ceased to exist. Baskin suggests therefore that the concept of sovereignty be redefined in order to separate it from that of territory. "The challenge of looking for the solution for a new relationship between sovereignty and territory is found in the need to create a system where sovereignty could exist and yet does not apply to a specific land area." (Baskin, 1994, p. 75)

According to Baskin, this idea of separating sovereignty from territory was accepted by the Palestinians during the secret talks which led to the Oslo declaration, under the conditions that the settlement activities would cease and the Palestinian Jerusalemites would have the right to vote and to elect the Palestinian council. This is, in fact, what emerged in the DOP and the Cairo Agreement. Palestinian Jerusalemites participated in the Palestinian elections, but most of the residents had to vote outside the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, and institutions officially linked with the Palestinian Authority (PA) have been forced to locate themselves outside Jerusalem.

Once accepted by a majority of Israeli policy-makers and

by Palestinians, it remains only to define the level of autonomy and "sovereignty" to be accorded the Palestinians and the modalities for how to do so. There are several possible scenarios either a maximalist or minimalist approach. The most complex and sensitive issues for Israelis are those connected with legislation and the powers to be accorded the PA. The various formulas, "joint sovereignty", "shared sovereignty", "scattered sovereignty" and "functional sovereignty" proposed by Israelis, are all based on the same principle: participation by Palestinians in the decision-making process on relevant local/municipal affairs and responsibility on the part of the PA for the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem but not over the territory. It is important to note that there is a certain ambiguity associated with the "sovereignty" concept which is often used to speak in terms of the level of responsibility that the PA will have over the Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem and used also to designate their responsibilities at the local and municipal level while avoiding the most substantial issues such as borders, capital status and so on.

Indeed, the difference between these various concepts of "sovereignty" lies in whether to have Palestinian participation in the actual municipality under two municipalities, each with control of their own sectors (this is the position of Gershon Baskin and IPCRI model most notably).

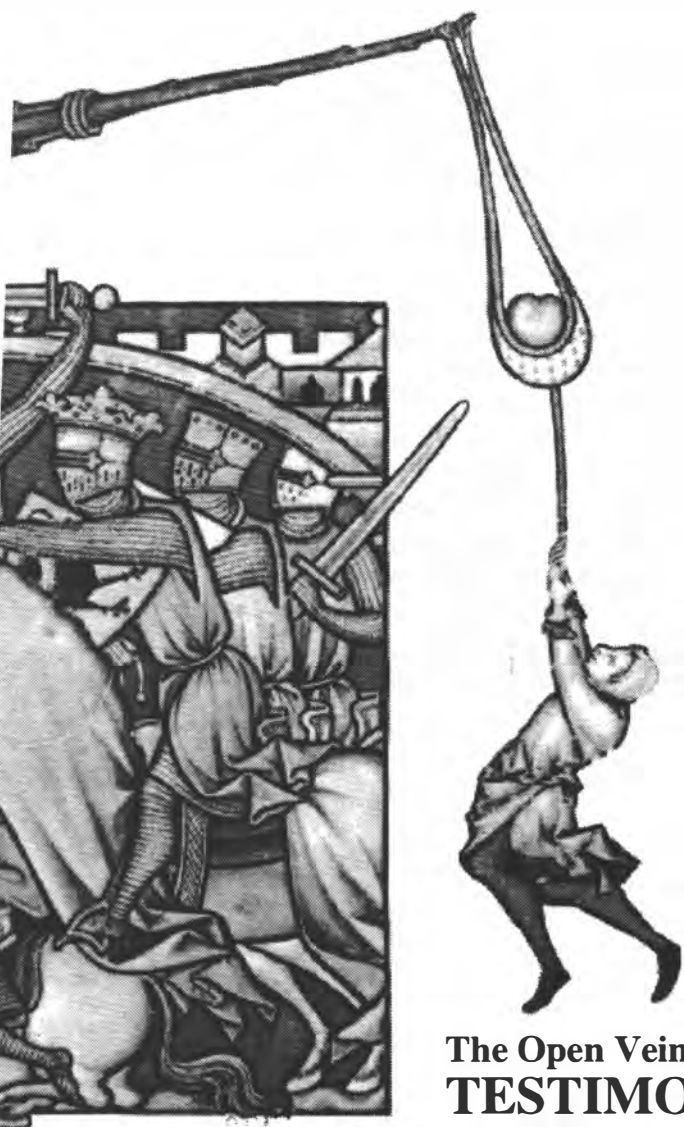
***Anne Latendresse***

*University of Quebec/ Montreal*

*The Arab Centre for Development in the Middle East*



"Afterwards Saul said, let's chase the Philistines all night and destroy every last one of them" (1 Samuel xiii:3)  
Old Testament Miniature, early fourteenth century.



The Open Veins of Jerusalem  
**TESTIMONIES**  
**AND DOCUMENTS**

**“Their Murderous Sickness”**

Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred. It is bound to bring complete ruin upon us. Only then will the old and young in our land realize how great was our responsibility to those miserable Arab refugees in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought from afar; whose homes we have inherited, whose fields we now sow and harvest; the fruit of whose gardens, orchards and vineyards we gather; and in whose cities what we robbed, we put up houses of education, charity and prayer while we babble and rave about being “the people of the book” and the “light of the nations”

— Martin Buber, Jewish philosopher, writing to fellow Jews in the publication *Thud's Ner*, 1961

# ETHNIC CLEANSING IN JERUSALEM

Ingrid Jaradat

The transformation of East Jerusalem into a Jewish city is not being accomplished only by town-planning schemes which place severe limits on Palestinian building and by expropriating Palestinian land in order to establish Jewish settlements. It is rather a coordinated and systematic assault which makes use of all the means available to the national and local governments: building and planning laws, the closure, shutting down Palestinian national institutions, as well as a whole series of statutes and regulations defining who is, and who is not, entitled to live in Jerusalem.

Not so permanent residents and other strangers Palestinian residents of Jerusalem are not citizens of Israel. It is true that they carry blue identity cards (identical in appearance to those carried by Israeli citizens) instead of the orange cards carried by residents of the rest of the occupied territories, but their legal status is that of 'permanent residents' - sort of 'protected tenants' in a city which they once owned, until it was taken out of their hands by Israeli annexation in 1967.

The term 'permanent resident' usually refers to a citizen of one country who has decided to live in another country for an extended period of time. A sovereign state is entitled to grant such a person permanent resident status, or to refuse to grant it, or to condition the grant on the fulfillment of certain

requirements. Whenever the conditions are not met, the host country is entitled to rescind the permanent resident status. The Entry to Israel Law provides, for example, that a permanent resident who resides abroad for seven or more years, or who acquires another citizenship, will lose his permanent resident status.

All these limitations apply to the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem, as well as a few designed especially for them. Thus their right to reside in Jerusalem is placed in constant jeopardy -and is subject to a plethora of rules and regulations issued by the Ministry of the Interior. However, as opposed to the Italian priest who applies for permission to set down roots in Israel, or the diplomat from the Netherlands who falls in love with the Galilean landscapes and decides to spend his retirement by the shores of the Sea of Galilee - the Palestinians of Jerusalem have not chosen to settle in the city...they were born there. This is their only home, their only homeland. They are not in the category of foreigners who have been granted a favor by the State of Israel, but native Jerusalemites who live in the city as of right.

Similar reasoning was raised about ten years ago by the lawyer, Jonathan Kuttab, in a petition to the Israeli High Court challenging the expulsion order issued against Dr. Mubarak Awad in accordance with the Entry to Israel Law. Dr. Awad was an adherent of active non-violent resistance, who was born and living in Jerusalem, who had acquired US citizenship after a period of residence in that country. The petition requested that the special status of Palestinian Jerusalemites be accorded 'quasi-constitutional' recognition by the court. Justice Barak, (then and still president of the supreme court of Israel) rejected these arguments, in a precedent-setting decision. Dr. Awad was expelled, and the Ministry of Interior understood that the High Court would not stand in the way of additional administrative steps limiting Palestinian residency rights in Jerusalem.

### **CREEPING TRANSFER**

Preventing family reunification is undoubtedly one of the most cynical means employed by Israel to empty East Jerusalem of its Palestinian inhabitants. [Jerusalemite] women who are permanent residents of Jerusalem and who are married to residents of other parts of the '67 occupied territories or to foreign nationals are not permitted to bring their husbands to Jerusalem. The marriage does not entitle the husband to a Jerusalem identity card. If the wife can prove that her 'center of life,' another peculiar legal concept which flows from the Awad decision, is indeed in Jerusalem (although it is difficult for a woman to produce the required documentation in her name), and if no clerk in the Interior Ministry finds a reason to refuse the application for family reunification (usually reasons of 'security,' so-called) and if the family is patient enough to put up with waiting several years, living separately and paying lawyers - only then might it receive a positive response to the application for family reunification. If for some reason or another the family decides to live outside of the Jerusalem municipal boundaries (very often on the other side of the street!), then not only will the husband not receive a Jerusalem ID, but the women might very well lose her own Jerusalem ID, and along with it, her right to enter the city, receive social security benefits and national health insurance, and—perhaps most damaging of all—her right to be considered a Jerusalemite.

When it is a non-Jerusalemite woman who is married to a permanent resident, then the application for family reunification is more apt to be approved, on condition that the husband can prove that he is living with his family within Jerusalem. Here is where the main trap lies: the planning policies of both the national government and of the Jerusalem city government deliberately and severely limit Palestinian building rights in Jerusalem and encourages them to move to the West Bank towns adjacent to Jerusalem, where it is easier to receive a



building permit. In the past, the city government asserted that Palestinian residents who lived in these suburbs were in no danger of losing their residency rights. But this policy began to change about two years ago. On the one hand, the Interior Ministry announced that family reunification in cases where it is the husband who needs a Jerusalem ID would be possible (it had been an impossibility up till 1994) - but on the other hand, it declared that from henceforth, one would have to prove that one's 'center of life' was in Jerusalem (via residential leases, municipal property tax and water bill receipts, registration of children in local schools, and last but not least, being present during surprise visits by inspectors) in order to receive a Jerusalem ID under family reunification and keep it.

As a result, tens of thousands of Jerusalemites who have been living outside of Jerusalem for the past four years are at risk of losing their Jerusalem IDs. The number of actual cases of Jerusalem ID cards being confiscated (on the grounds that the bearer has apparently 'emigrated' from the city) has increased over the past two years. The goal of the Interior Ministry is clear: to reduce the number of Palestinian residents to a minimum, and to transform them into a pitiful minority, including in East Jerusalem, by means of a sea of new Jewish settlers. Indeed, Jews are already a majority in the part of the city occupied in 1967.

### **NEW ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES**

Ever since Justice Barak ruled that 'center of life' is a central criterion for the retention of permanent resident status, the Interior Ministry has been looking for new administrative means to accelerate the transfer of Palestinian-Arabs from the city. Two such means, both of which were put into practice at the behest of the Labor government, before the election of Netanyahu, will be discussed below.

The first new administrative practice applies to Palestinian permanent residents of Jerusalem who live abroad,

whether for family reasons, to study, or to earn a living. In the past, as long as such a Jerusalemite returned before the expiration of his/her 're-entry visa,' s/he was not at risk of losing permanent residency status. But in the past year, the ID card confiscation in such cases has become increasingly common, with lawyers and human rights organizations dealing with thousands of instances where cards have been confiscated even from those who return regularly to renew their visas. This is a novel interpretation of 'center of life,' according to which some clerk in the Interior Ministry checks the number of days spent in Jerusalem of even a person who has a home, children and next-of-kin in the city, and according to completely arbitrary criteria, is entitled to decide that the person has 'transferred his center of life' outside the city, even if that person lacks a foreign passport or any form of permanent resident status in another country. Thus, in practice, these deportees are turned into stateless refugees.

In other words, in order to ensure they won't be expelled from the city, a Palestinian resident of Jerusalem must put her/himself under a kind of voluntary arrest - for any trip abroad might be considered a transfer of one's 'center of life,' whether one knows it or not.

The other new administrative practice reaches unprecedented heights of cynicism and brutality. In the past, the authorities used to grant special permits to spouses of Jerusalem residents, in force until they received Jerusalem ID cards according to the family reunification procedures. But no longer, and with the imposition of the continuous closure three years ago, spouses of Jerusalemites must live separately from their families, for it is impossible to enter Jerusalem without a blue ID.

Since the special permits are no longer issued, spouses have to live outside the city, separate from their families, until they receive a Jerusalem ID card. When the head of the Jerusalem population registry was asked by Attorney Lea

Tsemel, (who is the legal consultant of the Residency Rights Project of the Alternative Information Center), about how the refusal to grant a client's application to enter Jerusalem to live with his family squared with respect for the sanctity of family life, she was told: 'No one is preventing your client from preserving the sanctity of family life in the areas [i.e., the rest of the West Bank].' Indeed, the family probably subsequently moved out of to join the husband, for family reunification procedures can take months if not years. If so, the family would be considered to have its 'center of life' outside Jerusalem, and not only will the husband not get a Jerusalem ID, but the wife and children will probably lose theirs.

All this forces one to conclude that when it comes to devising means to offset the 'demographic danger' and uproot Palestinians from their homeland, the Israeli authorities manifest an inventiveness that surpasses that of a Nobel Prize winner on a good day. The Israeli authorities surpass their Serbian and Croatian counter-parts, in that they have managed to devise a means of ethnic cleansing without bloodshed, transports or open military force. It is all done with the stroke of a pen or a computer key-board, by regulations of the Interior Ministry with the approval of the Supreme Court. That way it is easier to pacify the international community and even the most progressive elements of domestic opinion.

***Ingrid Jaradat***

*The Alternative Information Center  
Jerusalem*

## **APPENDIX 1**

### **A Chronology of Bureaucratic Eviction after 1967**

The legal basis: Law of Entry into Israel (1952), Entry into Israel Regulation (1974) stating that "permanent residents"[none jews only] are liable to lose their status if they live outside the country for more than seven years and/or apply for permanent residency/citizenship in a foreign country.

1967-1995: Palestinian Jerusalemites living abroad: Israel used to issue re-entry visas to Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem living abroad. These re-entry visas were valid between one and three years, and were issued by the Jerusalem Interior Ministry and Israeli representations abroad. Palestinian Jerusalemites were thus made to believe that regular renewal of their visa would protect their residency rights in Jerusalem.

1967 - 1993: Free access from the West Bank/Gaza to Jerusalem, however, Palestinians not Jerusalem residents were forbidden to spend the night in the city;

1967 - 1982: Family Reunification and Child registration: both Jerusalem men and women could submit applications for family reunification for their non-resident spouse; applications were handled by the Interior Ministry arbitrarily and in small numbers; both male and female Jerusalemites could register their children as Jerusalem residents;

1982: Order by Interior Ministry to Jerusalem hospitals: to not register children whose father is not Jerusalem resident; Interior Ministry began systematic refusal to handle family reunification applications by female Jerusalemites;

1988: High Court decision against Mubarak Awad: legal precedent for "center of life" as a condition for entitlement to resident status; not applied against Palestinians who did not raise their issue in Israeli courts.

1993: permanent military closure prevents access to Jerusalem from the West Bank;

1994 Interior Ministry decides to handle family reunification applications by female Jerusalemites for their non-resident spouses, but conditions handling with proof of "center of life" in the city.

1995: "Center of life" criteria and Israeli law (1952,1974) applied in large scale against all Jerusalemites living abroad, including persons living in the surrounding West Bank., irrespective of whether they hold valid Jerusalem documents or not.

1996: Interior Ministry announcement of illegality of "dual nationality": large scale confiscation of ID cards from Jerusalemites holding foreign passports; proof of "center of life" is conditional also for family reunification applications by male Jerusalemites; Israel stops issuing Jerusalem entry permits to spouses of Jerusalemites.

*The Alternative Information Center  
Jerusalem*

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **A Strong Position by Foreign Governments is Vital NGOs Brief Foreign Missions on Israeli Violations of Palestinian Residency Rights in Jerusalem**

The NGO Lobby for Palestinian Women's Rights in Jerusalem had invited the representatives of foreign missions to discuss ways for increasing pressure on the Israeli government to stop the bureaucratic eviction of Palestinian residents of Jerusalem in general, and the confiscation of ID cards in particular. In its invitation, the Lobby had called upon foreign governments to co-operate with the local NGOs to:

- obtain an official Israeli statement with regard to its policy of ID card confiscations from Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem;
- pressure Israel to stop using Israeli law as a tool for the bureaucratic eviction of its Palestinian inhabitants; Israel must agree to a freeze of the resident status of Palestinian Jerusalemites until the issue is solved in the final status negotiations between Israel and the PLO;
- pressure Israel to facilitate family reunification in Jerusalem, especially for persons from the 1967 occupied territories, whose unilateral legal separation from Jerusalem is unacceptable prior to the completion of the political negotiations on the city's future.

The briefing conducted on Monday 16 December 1996 at the Jerusalem Center for Women was attended by representatives of the Consulates of Belgium, France, Sweden, the United States, and by the Netherlands Representation to the Palestinian Authority. Lobby members (Alternative Information Center, Bat Shalom, Jerusalem Center for Women, Palestine Human Rights Information Center) raised the issue of the lack of power of Palestinian and Israeli human rights organizations to challenge the official Israeli position denying that policy changes with regard to ID card confiscations and family reunification have occurred.

Representatives of the Foreign Missions expressed similar frustration with the persistent denial by Israeli government officials: "It is like you tell your neighbor to stop beating his dog and he simply claims that he doesn't have a dog at all" said Ms. Kathleen Riley from the US Consulate. While NGOs raised that they expect the representatives of the Foreign Governments in the area to proceed to use more powerful diplomatic tools, the Foreign Missions emphasized that it was upon the Palestinian Authority and the PLO to raise this matter officially in front of Israel and international fora in order to enable Foreign Governments to respond appropriately.

The meeting concluded with an agreement between local NGOs and the foreign missions to continue their joint efforts for tabling Israeli violations against Palestinian residency rights in Jerusalem on the international public agenda.

- Foreign missions will continue to address the Israeli government and its Ministry of Interior as well as the international media. They will thereby focus on Israeli ID card confiscations from Palestinian Jerusalemites who are also nationals of their respective country (binationals), as this represents a particular sensitive matter for their governments.
- Foreign missions will advise their governments to remind Israel of the fact that many of their bilateral cooperating agreements are conditioned by Israeli compliance with international law and human rights conventions.
- NGOs will continue providing updated documentation of Israeli policies pertaining to Palestinian residency in Jerusalem; special efforts will be made to compile statistical data.
- NGOs will renew their effort - unsuccessful in the past - to convince the Palestinian Authority and the PLO that now, following the official opening of the final status negotiations ..., it is perfectly legitimate for the Palestinian side to raise issues related to Jerusalem with Israel and the international community.
- NGOs will insist that the Palestinian Authority and the PLO adopt Israeli violations of Palestinian residency rights in Jerusalem as part of their urgent agenda alongside with other current issues such as continuing and new Israeli settlement construction, the overdue withdrawal from Hebron, and the military closure on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

*The Alternative Information Center  
Jerusalem*

### **APPENDIX 3**

#### **ID Card Debate in the Knesset**

On 11 December 1996, MK 'Azmi Beshara (National Democratic Alliance), submitted the following parliamentary questions (# 434) to the Minister of Interior, Eli Suissa:

"Recently, Israeli identity cards and with them the residency rights in the city were taken from many inhabitants of East Jerusalem. I would like to ask:

1. What is the exact number of identity cards taken in the past six months?

2. Does your office have lists of additional residents whose ID cards are scheduled for revocation?

3. If yes, what is their exact number?"

On 29 January, Minister Eli Suissa responded to these questions in the parliament. Following are excerpts of his answers and

the debate with MK Beshara:

Minister Eli Suissa: Regarding your first question, our office does not keep statistical records of this matter, but we estimate that we are dealing here with approximately 600 cases. Concerning your second and third question, our office does not have lists, and there is no information as to the number of residents whose ID cards will be revoked in the future.

MK 'Azmi Beshara: Mr. Minister, we have already several times dealt with this matter, and we keep raising it, because there is a problem; hundreds of complaints have reached us, and there is a lack of information and a situation of uncertainty concerning the criteria used by the Interior Ministry. Now I hear that the National Insurance Institute is also involved in this campaign by hiring private investigators to check where people live, and that the NII has already taken upon itself to decide who is a resident and who not. We will inquire about this matter at the Minister of Labor and Welfare. However, with regard to our subject here, it is still unclear what are the criteria. People who were born in this country continue to be treated as if they had entered the country legally or illegally, as if they had migrated to this country ... the honorable Minister of Interior says that they do not keep statistical records. I want to know, if he has any estimate [...] as to the dimensions of this phenomenon in East Jerusalem, because there are tens of thousands of people who live in uncertainty.

Minister Eli Suissa: I already said that I do not keep records of this matter. I want to add that we are not dealing here with criteria or a policy. We are implementing the rules of the law, that is the Law of Entry and the amended regulations, and also the rulings of the Supreme Court, which provide that a person who transferred the center of his life, or received another citizenship, and lived outside the State of Israel for seven years and then returns, loses his status automatically. And since he loses his status, there is no reason why we should continue to provide him with services or permit him to hold the identity card. The issue of National Insurance is also related to our subject. We have turned into a city of immigrants, a city of refuge...

MK Beshara: ... You entered their city, they did not enter your city. They have not entered this country ...they are not immigrants ... this is not a city of refuge for Arabs."

#### **APPENDIX 4**

##### **Stop the Quiet Deportation in East Jerusalem**

Dear Friend,

I am writing on behalf of two Israeli human rights organizations, B'Tselem\* and Hamoked\*\*, to seek your assistance in a public campaign we are conducting against what we call "the quiet

deportation" of Palestinians from East Jerusalem.

Israeli residency policies have caused the displacement of thousands of Palestinian families from East Jerusalem and threaten thousand more. A description of these policies is included in the attached document. A more detailed report on the subject is currently being prepared, and will be available at the beginning of next month.

The forced eviction of Palestinians from East Jerusalem is clearly in breach of international human rights and humanitarian law. Beyond this, however, is the acute human suffering of people who have moved out of East Jerusalem - temporarily, they thought - for a variety of reasons (the following are just some examples):

- \* Study or work abroad ;
- \* The acute housing shortage for Palestinians in Jerusalem, a result of deliberate Israeli policies ;
- \* The refusal by Israeli authorities to allow a "non-Jerusalemite" spouse to dwell in the city ;
- \* normal population movement from the heart of a city to its suburbs.

People belonging to any of these categories are at the risk of losing their right to "residency" in Jerusalem. This means that they may not enter their home town, let alone work in it, unless by special permit, and that they are no longer entitled to social benefits such as national insurance, child benefits, pension and health insurance.

It should be stressed that these policies affect a Palestinian moving 50 yards north of the municipal boundaries, but not a Jewish Jerusalemite moving to West Bank settlements in the vicinity. Such a person suffers no loss of freedom of movement, residency rights or social benefits.

What is frustrating to us as human rights activists is that these grossly unjust and inhumane policies, which have already affected thousands of Palestinians, and may affect tens of thousands more, are carried out discreetly, through invisible, bureaucratic procedures backed by Israeli laws and court decisions. There are no trucks, no weeping women and children dragged by brutal soldiers, no physical violence - in other words, little for the media to "cover." But the actual effect resembles what the most extremist political factions in Israel have advocated: large-scale displacement of Palestinians which threatens to permanently alter the demographic character of Jerusalem...

**Yuval Ginbar**

*Campaign Coordinator for  
B'Tselem and Hamoked*

**B'Tselem** is an Israeli independent, non-governmental organization established in 1989 to monitor human rights violations in the Occupied



Territories. B'Tselem publishes reports, conducts advocacy campaigns, engages in public education and serves as a resource center.

**HaMoked:** Center for the Defence of the Individual (formerly the Hotline) provides individual assistance to Palestinian victims of a wide variety of human rights violations and bureaucratic harassment. Founded in 1988 by a group of Arab and Jewish Israeli volunteers, HaMoked has assisted over 13,000 Palestinians, and also advocates for policy changes.

## **APPENDIX 5**

### **The Quiet Deportation**

#### **Israeli Residency Policy in East Jerusalem**

The goal of Israeli residency policy in East Jerusalem is to reduce the number of Palestinians living in the city, and to create a demographic and geographic reality that will preempt any future effort to challenge Israeli sovereignty in East Jerusalem.

Some 170,000 Palestinians holding Israeli identity cards reside in East Jerusalem. For the past two years, Israel's Interior Ministry has been revoking the residency rights of Palestinians in East Jerusalem who at some stage of their lives lived outside the municipal borders.

Consequently, numerous Palestinians have been required to leave their homes and families and move to areas outside the Green Line, the demarcation line of Israel at the outset of the Six-Day War. It is estimated that some 120,000 Palestinians (70% of the Palestinian population of the city) may lose their right to live in Jerusalem because of this new Israeli policy.

Following the Six-Day War, in contravention of international law, Israel annexed East Jerusalem, an area of 70 km<sup>2</sup> in East Jerusalem, and applied Israeli law in the annexed territory. Immediately after the war, Israel conducted a census in East Jerusalem and granted the status of permanent resident to everyone present in East Jerusalem at the time of the census who resided there. Israel also declared that residents of East Jerusalem could receive Israeli citizenship upon request, but for political reasons, most East Jerusalem Palestinians did not request citizenship.

Israel's Supreme Court held that the Entry into Israel Law applies in determining the status of Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem, and that the identity card issued to them is comparable to the permit to permanently reside in Israel granted under that law. The Court also held that when a permanent resident settles outside Israel, the permanent residency status expires. "Expiration" of the permit, contrary to revocation, makes the individual subject to loss of residency without explanation and without any procedure that would enable him or her to appeal.

The law stipulates that a person is considered to have settled outside Israel if he or she remained abroad for more than seven years,

received a permit to permanently reside in another State, or became a citizen of that State. The Supreme Court held that residency may also be revoked if other facts indicate that the individual settled outside of Israel even where the period of residency outside Israel was less than seven years.

By applying the Entry into Israel Law to residents of East Jerusalem, Israel relates to them as immigrants, even though the families involved have lived in the area for scores of years, and it was Israel who entered the area, and not vice versa.

The legal status, described above, reflects only a small part of the picture. The Interior Ministry uses unwritten criteria and unclear procedures in revoking residency status. Human rights organizations and attorneys have failed in their attempts to determine the applicable criteria and procedures. The Ministry refuses to publish its criteria for issuing or revoking residency permits, or data regarding the number of persons whose residency has been revoked.

Not only Palestinians who have moved abroad are threatened by this policy. Over the years, many Palestinians have moved to neighborhoods and villages outside the Jerusalem municipality. This migration is the result of the following Israeli policies designed to entrench Israeli sovereignty in East Jerusalem:

1. Israel has greatly restricted Palestinians in residential building, causing overcrowding due to the serious housing shortage.
2. Prior to 1994, Israel rejected requests for family unification submitted by Jerusalem Palestinian women on behalf of their spouses who are not Jerusalemites. The Israeli policy compelled these women to leave the city in order to be with their husbands.

East Jerusalem Palestinians living outside the city borders customarily went to the Interior Ministry's office in Jerusalem to renew their exit permits, thereby restarting the seven-year counting period. The Interior Ministry's policy had been that only a continuous seven-year stay outside of Jerusalem would result in the loss of the right of residency.

In the past two years, however, Israel changed its policy retroactively, and those who have not lived within the Jerusalem Municipality continuously lose their right to live in the city, even if they lived outside the city for less than seven years and even if they did not become permanent residents or citizens of another country.

Persons who require the services of the Interior Ministry in a variety of matters, such as replacing an identity card, registering a child, or receiving an identity card for the first time at age 16, are required to provide documentary proof that they live in Jerusalem. Those unable to provide suitable documentation lose their right to live in Jerusalem.

This requirement is excessive and unduly severe, and serves as

an additional bureaucratic tool to reduce the number of Palestinians holding Israeli identity cards.

The requirement of proving residency in Jerusalem applies both to Palestinians living in the United States and to those living in Al-Ram, which lies only a few kilometers from Jerusalem's municipal borders.

Since the residency status "automatically expires," denial of residency status occurs without a hearing, without explanation, without any notice of the right to appeal, and without being informed that the policy had changed. The authorities have also taken Jerusalem residency status from East Jerusalem Palestinians who moved to the Jerusalem suburbs (which are within the West Bank).

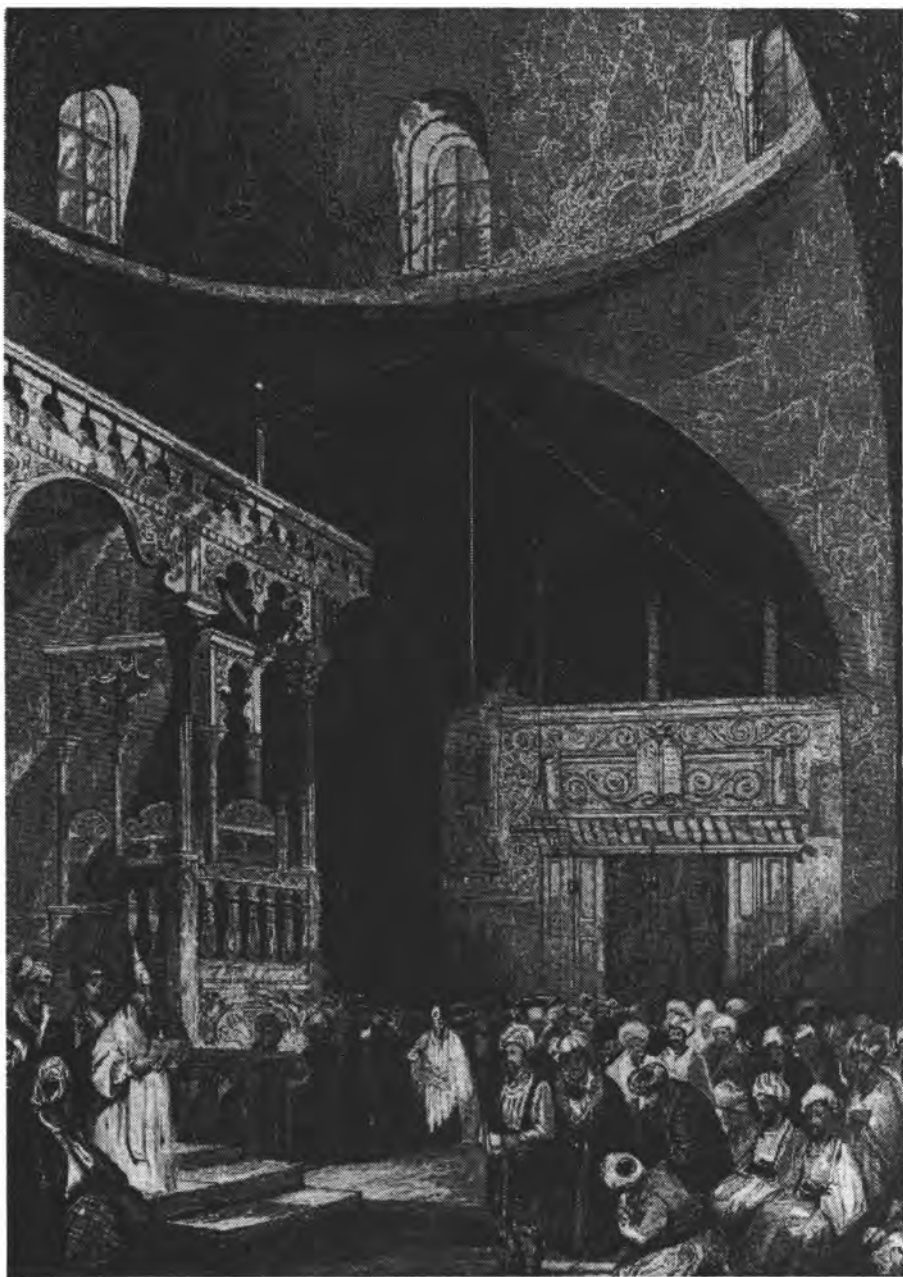
Loss of Jerusalem residency status has significant implications. Residents of East Jerusalem are not subject to the military government, as are residents of the rest of the Occupied Territories. Those without Jerusalem residency status are not allowed to enter freely and work in Israel, and require special permits. Loss of residency also results in the immediate cessation of national insurance benefits and health insurance through Israeli sick funds, as well as access to education and other benefits.

The Israeli Supreme Court has approved the policies of the Interior Ministry. Therefore, no domestic remedies are available to the victims of these policies.

Since the Interior Ministry does not publish its criteria for revoking residency status, East Jerusalem's Palestinians are uncertain about their status. Consequently, many do not utilize the services of the Interior Ministry, fearing that their residency in Jerusalem will be questioned and that they will be found not to be entitled to an Israeli identity card.

Within the next six months, the Interior Ministry intends to replace the identity cards of all Israeli citizens and residents. Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem will then have to go to the Interior Ministry, where the clerks will check whether they are entitled to an Israeli identity card. According to estimates, some 70% of Jerusalem's Palestinian residents are liable to lose their residency status. This would have severe consequences in terms of this population's ability to enjoy civil rights as well as economic and social benefits. In addition, Israeli residency policies are liable to dramatically change the character of the city.

*B'Tselem*



W. H. Bartlett. A synagogue in Jerusalem in the seventeenth century and the religious ceremony performed by Jews, Topkapi Saray Library, Istanbul. Jews of the Muslim world attained positions of wealth and influence in many fields—finance, trade, and in the courts. The synagogues in Jerusalem and elsewhere where Jews congregated to worship preserved their architectural and religious characteristics.



Jerusalem: Hebrew women pray at the Wailing Wall, before 1918  
The collection of Khalil Raad, *Before their diaspora* by Walid Khalidy.  
The freedom of conscience and faith recognized to the Jews in the Muslim World  
secured the protection of Judaism and allowed it to grow and to develop.  
Maimonides (1135-1240), the greatest Jewish philosopher of medieval times, was a  
product of the faith and law of the Arab civilization.

**Opposite:** The Wailing Wall after the Israeli occupation of the Old City.





Paris under Nazi occupation?  
No! It is Jerusalem, the city of peace, under Israeli occupation, AFP.

“THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN THE FACT



The Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, a daily fact of Palestinian living, George Azar.

**“THAT ISRAEL IS A TERRORIST STATE”**  
—ISRAEL SHAHAK





Poisoning Arab kids: Toxic gas administered by Israeli troops landed in a Palestinian school, sending schoolgirls running from their classrooms, choking and vomiting. About a dozen third and fourth-grade girls were taken to a hospital for treatment for the burning, gagging toxic fumes. (Bethlehem, Aug. 26, 1997).

*"May start fires. Must not be sprayed on humans or in a confined space as death or injury may result."* —The warning on gas containers used by Israeli forces.

**"ONE MILLION ARABS ARE NOT**



Shooting Arab kids: An Israeli soldier in al-Khalil (Hebron), aiming his assault rifle at a group of Palestinian children, March 13, 1998. Imagine however if the soldier in the photograph was German and the children he was taking aim at were Jewish? Only then would it be an act of barbarism.

**WORTH A JEWISH FINGERNAIL”**

—*Rabbi Yaacov Perrin, Feb. 27, 1994*



Confiscating Palestinian lands for imported foreign Jewish settlers (George Azar).

"In truth, the settlers can do to the Arabs in the territories everything they want, without being brought to court. I do not discuss here their stone throwing or wounding and sometimes even killing [of Palestinians] but causing danger for its own sake." — *Danny Rubinstein, Davar, January 17 1989.*

**LET NO JEW SAY THE PROCESS OF  
EXPANSION HAS ENDED.**



...and demolishing Arab houses.

“Because we took the land, this gives us the image of being bad, of being aggressive. The Jews always considered that the land belonged to them, but in fact it belonged to the Arabs.”

— *Yehoshafat Harkabi, former chief of Israeli Military Intelligence,  
Armed Forces Journal International, October 1973.*

**LET NO JEW SAY THAT WE ARE NEAR  
THE END OF THE ROAD.**

— *Moshe Dayan, Ma'ariv, July 7, 1968.*

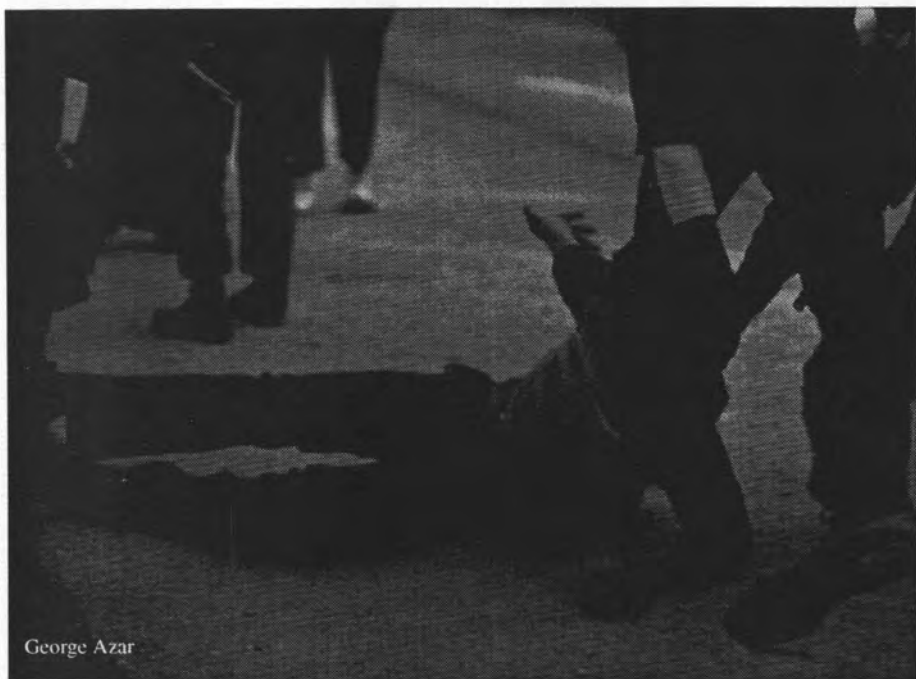


**"Making desert bloom"**

Jerusalem Trade Center smashed by Jewish terrorist attacks, April-May 1948.

**Opposite:** Jerusalem, what is left of Sa'd wa Sa'id quarter.



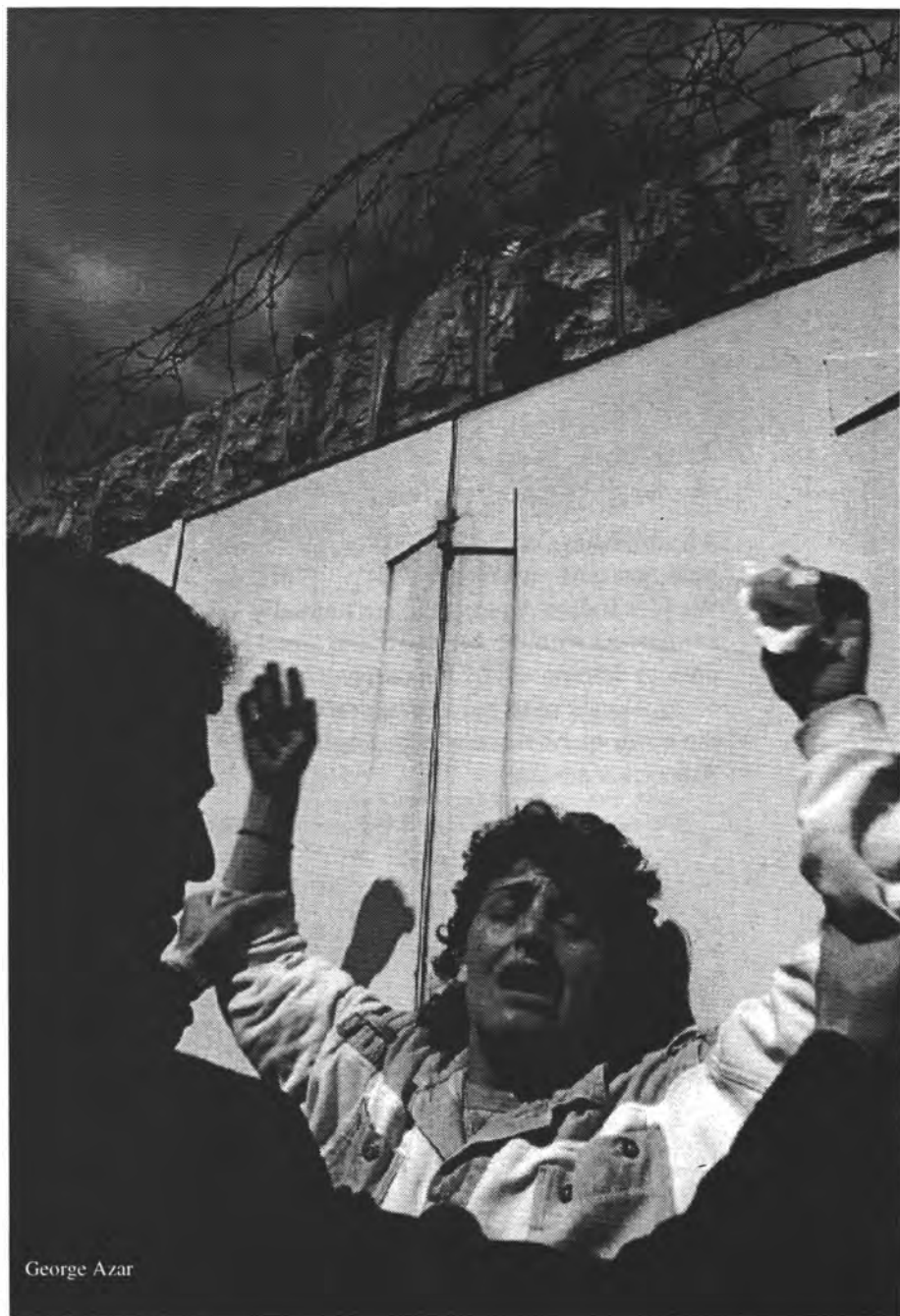


George Azar

A six year old boy, reaching for his mother's hand as Israeli soldiers drag him from his home.

**THE FIRST PRIORITY IS TO USE FORCE,  
MIGHT AND BEATINGS"**

*—Yitzhak Rabin, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize*



George Azar

A helpless Palestinian woman stricken by Israeli poison gas, a daily fact of ruthless occupation.  
Al-Mu'tasim is absorbed in the Anglo-American business .



**Annihilation,  
past, present and future.**

We [the Indian Americans] are mutually confronted with the specter not of simply a present determined by the unrelenting horror of America's past, but a future dictated by the never-quite-acknowledged ugliness of America's present.

—*M. Annette Jaims (Juaneno/Yaqui)*  
*A lecturer in American Indian Studies with CSERA*

**The Honest Broker**  
**Vice President Al Gore\*:**  
**“WE WILL FULFILL THE**  
**DREAM OF HERZEL AND...**  
**NETANYAHU”**

... My relationship with AIPAC began in the very first days of my political life, long before I became vice president. and it will last far longer.

As some of you know, I represented a farming area, a congressional district in the middle of Tennessee, which had virtually no Jewish community whatsoever. I was therefore not able to have a regular continuing dialogue with constituents who were particularly focused on U.S.-Israel relations. Instead, when it came to Israel, I voted on my instincts, on what I thought was the right thing to do.

As a result, eight years later, when I ran for the Senate, I was pleased that AIPAC and the national pro-Israel community rallied behind my candidacy with such strength and commitment.

I will never forget the support and will never take it for granted. For what AIPAC stands for, what it represents is nothing less than American solidarity with Israel and American solidarity with a democratic and peaceful Middle East.

And as I join you here as an ally and a partner. So, too, does President Clinton. I have said it before and I will say it again here—I believe deeply that historians will record that Israel has never, ever, had a better friend in the White House than President Bill Clinton.

You have seen it in his spontaneous tears for Yitzhak Rabin. You have heard it in his powerful and poetic words of commitment to the cause of peace. And you have felt it, both in his deep grief for the motherless children and childless mothers of Israel's victims of terror and in the strong, consistent steps he takes as president to help bring peace and security to the Promised Land.

We pray to God that this litany of the murdered will at long last end. And we are determined before God that we will bring this litany of the murder to an end ourselves—by our hands, our hearts, and the strength of our will.

I do not speak idly of my solidarity with Israel. Like President Clinton, I am a baptist, and we Baptists read Hebrew scripture. The Bible was my companion when I was a child and it remains my companion today. By heart, I think I can recite for you some of the salient text. God's covenant with Abraham, which is the beginning of the Jewish nation, the exodus from Egypt and the return to the Promised Land, lamentations by the waters of Babylon, the songs of the poet King David, the prophesies of both dread and exultation.

Among these prophets and prophesies, there is none more vivid to me, and in its way, none more historic than when God places Ezekiel in a valley of dry bones. And the Lord asks—Can these bones live? To which Ezekiel defers, saying—Only God knows. And then God breathed life into the bones and bone came to bone, sinew to sinew.

And the Lord said—These bones are the whole house of Israel, and these bones shall live. This prophesy may be thought of as the Biblical charter of Zionism. I have seen these bones live. They are the destiny of your people. But how close you came, and many times, to being snuffed out.

You know better than I. This memory lives in your bones. Your survival, your revival—this constitutes for me the conclusive proof of the mystery and majesty of the God of Israel.

In an age when many prophetic ideas have fared rather badly, modern Zionism is a great exception. And it all began rather modestly. One hundred years ago this summer, a debonair Viennese journalist and playwright, roused by the Dreyfus case, convened the First Zionist Congress in Basel.

A year earlier, he published a little book called *Der Judenstat*, The Jewish State. It was thought by the sophisticates and realists of that time to be a piece of science fiction.

Undeterred, Theodor Herzl summoned some 200 delegates and observers to what proved to be an all-at-once visionary and practical assembly. He had ordered them to appear in morning coats. And it was unclear how many of them knew what a morning coat was.

But they already had their national anthem. And they rose and sang the Hatikva. Doubtless, the delegates assumed that the hope to which the title of their hymn alluded would not be other than very long in coming...

But this sensibility was not Herzl's sensibility. He was too impatient. He knew that the need was urgent, that the soil of Europe and of other places where Jews had lived for centuries was doomed turf.

He confided to his diaries that the Jewish state would be established within 50 years. He was off by a few months.

As prescient as he was, even Herzl could not have imagined Israel's success—successful as a democracy, in a region where democracy is rare; successful as a society under law, in a part of the world ravaged by lawlessness; a blooming garden in the midst of the desert; successfully modern in an ancient land, modern in science and invention and commerce; an economic power, not only regionally but now globally; successful as an incubator of profound culture and learning and art and music; successful, finally, in the strength of its values and in the strength of its arms to, protect those values.

In many of these accomplishments, including its military

achievements, the United States has played its part as an ally and friend. But Israel has never wanted American troops to protect it, and they never have. In fact, the essential success of the enterprise—in all its facets—is attributable to the natural gifts of the Jewish people, restored from dispersion to their home.

Israel is now as confident about its future as it is proud of its past. And Israel is willing, has been willing for decades, to take upon itself certain risks for peace. It is ready now to do more.

Nonetheless, Israel must not let down its guard. After all, there are states in the region that field enormously bloated armed forces, which traffic in the technologies of darkness -nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons.

Let me say for all to know, the United States is committed—and committed absolutely—to maintain Israel qualitative edge in military capacity. (AUDIO GAP)

The United States, and our administration, have taken extraordinary steps in recent years to keep Israel secure and to protect the national interests of the United States. That is why the president imposed sanctions on Iran, Libya, Sudan and others who would dare give license or safe haven to terror.

And it is why we have worked tirelessly to reduce the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction. It is why we respond when we must. It is why, for example, when Saddam Hussein's agents plotted to try to assassinate former President Bush, we struck back hard and quickly with Tomahawk missiles. It is why we funded and developed the Nautilus program to provide Israel with a defense against Katyusha rockets, and why we chose to upgrade the U.S.-Israel weapons, research and development partnership, and help Israel develop the Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile system.

It is why we provided Israel with advanced aircraft, like the F-15I and the F-16I. Just last week, Defense Minister

Mordechai met with Secretary Cohen, and I am pleased to announce that this American commitment continues to deepen. In fact, I'm pleased to announce also that we will increase new cooperation in key areas of defense research and development, particularly in areas focused on improving defenses against missile and rocket attack.

We will also increase our joint research and development programs on counterterrorism to supplement the actions taken by President Clinton last year in response to terrorist actions in Israel. You will recall that the president immediately, without any hesitation, took decisive, unilateral action, rushing bomb detection equipment, providing \$100 million in additional emergency aid, and leading multilateral efforts to help Israel ensure her streets would be safe, and those who would undermine the peace process would be stopped

But our cooperation is forged not simply for Israel's defense, but for its citizens' security and well being as well. That is why we are proud to be Israel's largest trading partner, and I am personally proud to have played a part when I was serving in the Senate in helping to pass the U.S-Israel Free Trade Agreement.

Incidentally, as proof of how well it has worked, last year, trade between our nations topped \$11.3 billion. This is also why we are putting the best and brightest of our nation's minds together through the U.S.-Israel Science and Technology Commission that we formed at the beginning of our administration. Norm referred to it.

It's intended to cooperatively promote high technology trade between our two countries. It's why our efforts to push for an end to the Arab boycott of Israel has helped to open markets and expand Israeli exports and triple foreign investment in Israel last year. And on this point, let me say this. I am deeply angered by any attempt to reinstitute the Arab boycott of Israel. That time has long since passed.

It is repugnant. It is reprehensible. We will do everything

in our power to oppose it. It's wrong.

Above all, this president and this nation are determined to do all in our power to restore the security that peace and prosperity requires, to muffle the voices of violence, to still the hands of hatred' to build the foundations of a comprehensive and lasting peace—not only because it is the right thing to do, but because it is our obligation to do it, our solemn responsibility as men and women of good will and good faith.

President Clinton has made the pursuit of peace in the Middle East a cornerstone of American policy.

There is no policy that has received more consistent attention and commitment than this one, and we pursue it passionately, patiently, and indefatigably.

And together, we have accomplished great good from Oslo to the handshakes on the South Lawn of the White House; from the historic peace between Jordan and Israel to the summit of Sharam el-Sheikh; from our mourning amid the cedars atop Mount Herzl when Arab and Israeli leaders alike stood for our lost friend, our chaver, Yitzhak Rabin; to the rededication to the cause of healing that we forged together at Hebron.

Yes! the path of peace has traced a long and hopeful course over these past few years.

Now the stewardship of that peace has passed to the young and vigorous hands of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu... Let me say... (APPLAUSE)

Let me say a few words about my friend Bibi Netanyahu. We have known one another a long time. We have met, just the two of us, often. I know him well. Prime Minister Netanyahu is a passionate leader, devoted—as were his distinguished predecessors—to preserving, protecting, and enhancing the national security of the state of Israel, as well as the personal security of each of its citizens.

I am here tonight to declare that during this complex period in which the Israeli people continue to take meaningful risks every day in search of peace. This administration will

never let Israel down.

Simply put, we will never permit anyone to drive a wedge between the United States and Israel. Our commitment to Israel's security will be as unshakable now as it has always been in the past. This commitment is ironclad and unequivocal. It rests on a strong moral and strategic foundation. It is based on shared values and on our unwavering commitment to democracy.

Above all, let me assert my unshakable belief that this unique relationship is good for the United States of America.

We will never depart from this path. That's why we will not be deterred from the path of peace. Through the tireless efforts of the parties and the dogged commitment and will of our negotiators, agreements were finally achieved in January, that resulted in Israeli military pullback from most of Hebron, while still ensuring the security of the Jews living in the city. And our work continues.

Clearly, we are at a very difficult moment in the pursuit of peace. We have faced difficult moments before. There are wheels within wheels. I believe in my heart the largest wheel is turning toward peace with security. We are working hard to do our part. For us to be able to fully do that, the leaders of the region as well must take a major effort to put the process back on track.

Earlier this week, the president reviewed the efforts toward revitalizing negotiations with King Hussein. And tomorrow, we will have the chance to review with Prime Minister Netanyahu how it might be possible to restore the security and confidence on which successful negotiations depend, for the issues that remain to be resolved are even more difficult than those that have already been solved.

The American people, and this administration in particular, will not rest: until the people in this troubled region are secure—secure in their homes, secure when they ride buses, secure when they worship, secure in their daily lives. Nothing



short of this is acceptable.

The benefits of peace are real and enduring, and must not be forsworn. They are measured in terms of security, but also in terms of economic opportunity and the chance for the parents of the region to realize their deepest yearning: that their children will know a better and more prosperous life than their own.

To achieve these goals, the United States has three guiding principles. Let me share them with you:

First, the issues in contention cannot and will not be resolved through violence. That is unacceptable.

One of the basic tenets of the Oslo Accords is that the Israelis and the Palestinians must work together to prevent violence. Yes, we need treaties. But for peace to endure, it must be a warm peace, a peace based on relationships that are normal and human.

And you cannot get that if you demonize Israel and the Jewish people. And you should not remain silent if newspapers in your nation demonize Israel and the Jewish people.

Second—second, issues must be resolved through direct give-and-take negotiations between the parties involved. That is the only true path to success. The United States cannot, and will not seek to impose its will upon either side. That is—that is the only path the United States will support. It is essential to ensure the credibility of the negotiating process among the parties themselves.

Third, outside pressures will only be counterproductive and will only serve to undermine the peace process. Only the parties can determine the future of their peoples. That is the essence and meaning of Oslo.

As you know, while we expressed our concern about the timing of the decision to begin construction at Har Homa, we do not believe that Jerusalem or other permanent status issues are appropriate for others to decide. It is for this reason that the United State, on two separate occasions, vetoed resolutions in the Security Council that sought to condemn Israel. It is why we

stood with Israel when this issue came before the General Assembly.

Simply put, we do not believe that this issue is appropriate for the United Nations—period.

Let me make one additional point that cannot be stressed enough. Solutions can not and will not be achieved through violence. Unless residents of Tel Aviv can safely eat at cafes, unless Israeli and Palestinian children can safely play in their playgrounds, unless people can live quiet, normal lives, there will be no peace. Violence is not and cannot be the answer to any problems or the means of redressing any grievance. Tolerance of terror is unacceptable and must be quickly condemned whenever it is evidenced.

All sides must recommit themselves to ending chaos and disorder if there is to be a chance for negotiations to succeed. I cannot emphasize strongly enough how important it is that Israeli and Palestinian security authorities cooperate fully in pursuit of this goal.

And let me repeat once again—for peace to take hold, we cannot, we will not, we dare not allow the evil and callow hand of the terrorist to keep us from our work. Mark my words, hear them clearly. To the enemies of peace, I say—We will find you. We will hunt you down to the ends of the earth. You shall have no rest. Let no one doubt it.

Let no one make the mistake of thinking that we will permit terrorism to be a card in negotiations for peace. The president said last week, and I will say to you here again tonight, unambiguously, all parties must have zero tolerance for terrorism. Zero. Effes. Not ever.

My friends, the season of spring is here. This is the time of rebirth. It is the month of miracles. Renewal and redemption are in the air. In recent days, my family gathered in our faith to celebrate our most holy day. And in a few short weeks, you and your families will gather with the pesach, matzah and moror to remember the miracle of Israel's deliverance from bondage.

In fact, my family and I are looking forward to once again gathering for a Seder with close friends at their home nearby here in Washington. It is a time of remembrance and rededication, as well renewal. And just as Moses charted a path through the great deserts of the Negev to the mountains of Jerusalem beyond, so, too, do we look ahead to a new future.

What will be our guide? What dangers lie ahead? On an earlier journey, Moses was guided by a burning bush. It was the first time he heard the word of God And when he looked—the Bible tells us—he was amazed that the bush was not consumed by the flames.

It's not the only time when we read of flames that burn but do not consume. Jerusalem lies in the mountains between the two great river valleys—the Nile and the Euphrates and the Tigris. Shadrack, Meshack and Abednego in the other river valley, were thrown by Nebucadnezzar, when they refused to renounce their faith, into the fiery furnace. On that occasion, too, the flames burned but did not consume. He looked into the furnace and was amazed that they stood with a fourth.

Let me say, terrorism will not consume peace. The United States will always stand with the people of Israel. We will find the path of peace together. We will find security together. We face two paths now. One leads toward increased violence, acts of terror, barriers to trade, darkness. This path is unacceptable.

The other leads toward life, toward progress and hope, and to the grand possibility that if we take it and succeed, we can say with confidence to future generations that here in our lives, we stood for peace so you and yours can know its blessings.

This is the harder path. It leads through difficult diplomacy endless hours of debate and discussion. But it is also the only path that will lead to peace, toward resolution of conflicts that have plagued this region for generations. We must follow that road, the one that leads to peace. With your help,

and with God's help, we will do so successfully

Over the course of the next two days, that path leads through Capitol Hill. You will meet with virtually every member of Congress. It is incumbent upon you to encourage them to support the peace process as they continue to stand with Israel and its people.

With your help, there will be a brighter tomorrow for the people of the region—Arabs, Christians and Jews alike, together with arms linked and voices strong, the world will sing with you Had Gad Ya (ph), God conquers all. Had Gad Ya (ph), justice will prevail. Had Gad Ya (ph), in this generation, as in the next, the angel of darkness shall pass over, and Israel will endure. And together, we will fulfill the dream of Herzl, the dream of brave souls like David Ben Gurion, Chaim Weizmann, Golda Meir and Menachem Begin; the dream of Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres and Benjamin Netanyahu, the dream of people of good will in the Middle East and everywhere; the dream that this great city, Jerusalem, will fulfill its ancient promise as a beacon for hope and wisdom, a place of holiness, the dream of peace, the dream of salaam, the dream of shalom, and let us all say amen.

\* Vice President **Al Gore** delivers remarks at the **AIPAC** Annual Policy Conference, April 6, 1997

\*\* **AIPAC** : "the leading pro-Israel Lobby in Washington, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, has become a major force in shaping United States policy in the Middle-East. Operating from tightly guarded offices just north of the Capitol, the organization has gained the power to influence a presidential candidate's choice of staff, to block practically any arms sale to an Arab country, and to serve as a catalyst for intimate military relations between the Pentagon and the Israeli army. Its leading officials are consulted by State Department and White House policy makers, by senators, and generals."

(Exerpts from " Pro-Israel lobby sways U.S. policy : Group turns opinions into political power" by the *New York Times News Service*, July 6, 1987.

**“If I were to change the names,  
a description of what is happening in  
the Gaza Strip and the West Bank could describe  
events in South Africa.”**

**—South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu**

# **LITTLE BANTUSTAN OF BETHLEHEM**

*Robert Gustafson and Christine Mallouhi*

We joined over 900 delegates, Christians Muslims and Jews, in the Sabeel Christian Liberation Theology Conference in Bethlehem Feb. 10-15. The occasion was the recognition of the establishment of the State of Israel 50 years ago and the conference banner was "The Biblical Jubilee: What does God require." Speakers included renowned Christian, Jewish, Muslim and secular leaders. It has been fifty years since the State of Israel was established on the ruins of Palestinian towns and villages. (418 villages were depopulated causing the Palestinian nation to become a UN "refugee problem"). The conference therefore challenged the state of Israel to heed the demands of the jubilee and its implications for peace today. To be content with the land where it established itself in 1948 and allow the Palestinians to have their state on the remainder. The Palestinians are not asking for a return of the 77% of their land taken from them in 1948. They are asking for a return of the 23% of the land which comprises the Occupied Territories. This area: the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem have been under military occupation by Israel since 1967. It is the longest military occupation of this century and its oppressive measures have caused many peace loving Jews to demand their government withdraw.

What we saw in the West Bank shocked us. We believed

that after Oslo it was just a matter of time until Palestinians would be in control of their destiny and the clashes and unrest were just teething problems. But life is worse since Oslo and people are laboring under layers of despair. Palestinians have only received 3% of the land back, so 75% of Palestinian residents in the West Bank remain under the Israeli jurisdiction of military occupation: designated Area C. The same policies that caused the intifada uprising still continue.

Bethlehem. The PNA has control of the town center but the surrounding areas and suburbs are still occupied by armed Israeli forces. Palestinians are still refused building permits, denied free travel and access to Jerusalem, their houses are still demolished to make way for illegal Jewish settlements. The entire town of Bethlehem is still denied water access. Israel turns on water 20 minutes every two weeks, enough time to fill one water tank on the roof that lasts about one week. Families must then purchase water at \$75 barrel. Residents told us they limit showers to twice a week and only wash clothes when it's desperate. The nearby Jewish illegal settlements (built on confiscated land) have unrestricted water. In fact 84% of all West Bank water is plundered for Israel proper and David's Well near Bethlehem is dry.

Since 1967 Israel has illegally confiscated 60% of Bethlehem's land and surrounded the town with Jewish settlements (8,500 housing units according to an Israeli humans rights organization in 1995) since then Har Homa and Gvat Arba bumped up the numbers. We met many families with 25 members squashed into one small home. They are denied permission to build on their land or to extend existing homes. Half a kilometer down the road new Jewish housing built on confiscated land eat up the space. Israel continues to confiscate land all over the West bank. On popular method is to kill the trees by removing soil from the roots and pour chemicals on them (Agent Orange has been reported) then uproot the trees and declare the land is un-inhabited, thus confiscating it.

Clashes are commonplace with soldiers attempting to destroy trees and the land owners trying to save them.

It's a ten minute drive along the main road (Hebron-Jerusalem Rd) from Bethlehem to Jerusalem. It's difficult to tell where the suburbs of Bethlehem end and the suburbs of east Jerusalem begin except for the checkpoint set mid stream in the road outside Bethlehem. Palestinians are denied access to the road and Jerusalem. Special passes are granted for those with good reasons to enter Jerusalem: medical visit, work permit. It takes days to gain a permit which is valid for 20 hours. Palestinians are arrested if caught in Jerusalem (part of the West Bank) or Israel without a valid permit.

On January 16 Nidal Abu Srou, 18 years old, was arrested as he left the Al Aqsa mosque after prayers with his family. He was held without charges for two days at the Russian compound in Jerusalem from where he was released to a hospital. He was unable to speak to his family and died as a result of injuries. Israeli Chief Justice Barak has called for this prison to be closed due to its treatment of prisoners. Other Palestinian detainees have died as a result of torture in this and other prisons. Israel's largest daily paper *Yediot Ahronot*, confirmed reports that on Nov. 28 an Israeli ministerial committee headed by Beniyamin Netanyahu extended the permit for Israeli security forces to use torture while interrogating Palestinians.

There are two checkpoints half a kilometer from each other blocking the main road in Bethlehem. The second protects Rachel's Tomb. Since Oslo the tomb has been turned into a military style fortress with soldiers with machine guns with barricades blocking half of the main road and occasionally totally blocking it causing great inconvenience to local traffic. During our visit the soldiers closed this barricade preventing us continuing to the Jerusalem checkpoint down the road. We had to divert the blockade by travelling around the outskirts of



the town through the alleys of the Aida refugee camp in order to reach the scanned checkpoint.. Our Swedish host made 12 cellular phone calls attempting to arrange for someone to pick up her four year old daughter on the other side of the barricade. All during the intifada no one damaged Rachel's Tomb so one wonders why it needs such a military presence now. It aggravates an already difficult situation for locals and becomes the focal point for unrest. When kids are prevented from attending school they can act unwisely. During an expression of exasperation , seven year old Ali Jawariesh from Aida Camp, joined a group of children throwing stones at the soldiers at Rachel's Tomb checkpoint in January. The soldiers raced at the children firing on them. One soldier fired at Ali hitting him in the head. Brain dead for four days he was declared dead on the 15th Jan. His father donated his organs to any needy recipient..Jewish or Arab. In another incident at the checkpoint seven Israeli border guards were questioned by Israeli police after brutally beating three Palestinian boys aged 14-15 on February 5. The beatings stopped when one boy passed out and had to be taken to hospital. Israeli police sources reported the soldiers would not be held on remand.

It is not uncommon for medical patients to die while waiting to cross the various checkpoints along the West Bank and particularly in Gaza, as they attempt to get to their best hospitals in Jerusalem.. with their medical passes in their hands. Highest fatalities are dialysis patients and still born babies.. No passes are given to men aged between 18 and 30. With Israeli bans on developing the West Bank infrastructure and unemployment exceeding 30% these men's dreams of finding employment as part of the cheap labor force in Israel is hopeless. Our tour guide, the wife of an Orthodox priest, showed us her fathers home and mentioned there were 27 members living it ( no permits given to build on their land) and only two of the extended family had employment.

Z. Zoughbi is the director of Waim Conflict Resolution

Center he says, "There is a great sense of apathy and hopelessness in our society. We feel as if the politicians of the world are playing chess with us. The sense of initiative and struggle is gone. We wanted to create a center with space for youth to create and act, so they do not only react to negative events. Not only manage conflicts but to prevent them. People are giving up and leaving the land, particularly the Christians. Bethlehem has traditionally been a major Christian town. In 1967 there were 85% Christians, while today we are down to 35% of the 40.000 inhabitants. The emigration started in the beginning of the century and has continued since then. Today the main reason is lack of confidence in the peace process.. There has been a Christian presence maintained here through 2000 years of empires, unrest and war. The youth is the link to the future and if the emigration continues, there is a real risk that our churches become museums or some kind of Disneyland."

Afif Safieh the Palestinian ambassador to the United Kingdom told church organizations in Geneva, "In Sydney Australia you have more Christians from Jerusalem than Christians in Jerusalem. Violence in the region since the 1967 war had resulted in the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fleeing Israeli persecution." He singled out Bethlehem as an area particularly at risk . The Israeli govt. is planning to build 6,500 housing units in Arab land to house another 30,000 settlers. They also plan to construct a network of hotels that would totally destroy the Bethlehem tourist industry. There is talk of plans to build a Bethlehem theme park to divert tourists . Locals believe it will be built on the site of Har Homa. Tourists can simply look across the hill at the little town of Bethlehem without going there. An Israeli Tourist Information official in Jerusalem told us it was "not safe to go to Bethlehem and there is nothing to see there anyway" as well as giving us misinformation about the difficulties of getting there by public transport. These plans are all designed to undercut the

Bethlehem 2000 celebrations when five million Christians are expected to visit the town thus encouraging local Christians and boosting the economy.

The evangelical Bethlehem Bible College issued a statement refuting the rumors that the Christian community is being treated unfairly by the Palestinian leadership and is in danger from the Muslim community. The Bible College stated that the report was issued from the desk of Benjamin Netanyahu in order to discredit the PNA leadership and stir up trouble between the two communities. When asked about the relations between Christians and Muslims Zoughbi (a Christian) said, "We work with both Christians and Muslims. You find conflicts rather along social groups than along religious borders. Families can have conflicts regardless of religious affiliation. In spite of the difficult situation, we here have better relations between Christians and Muslims than in the neighboring countries. The basic problem in our society comes from occupation. That does not mean that I want to demonize Israel or deny it's right to exist within secure borders. It is the occupation and the expansionism that I oppose. The media is trying to enlarge the difference between Christians and Muslims, but that is like a broken finger compared with the cancer of occupation."

In Gaza ( an area returned to Palestinian "control") we visited a family whose field of crops , hothouses and trees was confiscated by Israeli settlers at gunpoint two weeks ago while supported by the Israeli military. They uprooted everything and ploughed the field back to sand. While we were talking to the family the settlers pulled up in jeeps brandishing M16s. When asked why they had taken the Palestinians land they replied, "We have the right because of what the world did to us in Germany." Someone pointed out these 20 year old youths (with American accents) were too young to be alive then and why did the Palestinians have to pay. "The world has to pay " they answered. Within ten minutes two army vehicles arrived to

back them up with the soldiers also brandishing M16's. Another two military jeeps appeared on the road behind us.

The incident highlighted the situation of Gaza. Gaza's population is close to 1 million of whom 716,930 are refugees from the conquered middle and north of Israel. Many were displaced twice in 1948 and 1967. Five thousand Israeli settlers have occupied in the best agricultural areas and over 1/3 of the sea board. In 22 military guarded settlements they occupy 40% of the land of the Gaza strip and use 60% of the water. There are 61 persons per sq. mile in the Jewish area and 6,173 persons per sq. mile in the Palestinian areas. Declared "security areas" near the settlements are still under Israeli control and Palestinians are denied permission to build any structures: houses or schools. They live in tents and the children walk five kilometers to the nearest school in Khan Younis. Palestinians are forbidden to use the "Jews only" roads that run through to the West bank. They are denied rights to the sea coast and cannot export their fish industry and restrictions limit their agricultural exports though the checkpoint into Israel. Unemployment runs over 60% . Those employed in Israel are a cheap source of labor being paid less than Israelis. They begin lining up to get through the long wait at the checkpoint to enter Israel at 4am and return home about 6p.m. During a general closure, (collective punishment by Israel) Gaza is effectively locked up like a concentration camp behind the barbed wire fences encircling it and Alsatian guard dogs and guns. In 1997 during 18 days total closure in July \$24 million were lost in earning opportunities. A pastor told us he can't preach on faith hope and love anymore. He spoke of the need for sports and music teachers at the church school. Only 81 of the 1300 Gazan students registered in West Bank universities have been granted permits to enter the West Bank.

Jerusalem: Palestinian churches in East Jerusalem recently lost their tax immunity as non -profit organizations. The Israeli municipality of West Jerusalem demanded current

and retroactive municipal taxes on properties and real estate belonging to the churches. The amounts being demanded could reach some NIS 110 million. Israel plans to construct another 132 housing units for Jewish settlers in East Jerusalem placing them in the centre of a densely populated Palestinian area. When Palestinians suffer from discriminatory zoning and planning policies aimed at limiting their existence it could cause an explosion in tensions. It is funded by the American millionaire Irving Moskowitz. This is part of Israel's plans for building 15,000 new settlement units over the next two years in East Jerusalem and in settlement bands around the city. These new settlements will totally cut East Jerusalem from other West Bank cities. Some 850 Palestinian homes across the West Bank have been served demolition orders. Unable to obtain building permits for 30 years most of these homes were built on the owners land without the necessary permit. Palestinians in Jerusalem live with the fear of losing their right to live in their city of birth. At occupation In 1967 residents were denied citizen rights and given "residency status." This status must be renewed each year and travel documents granted to enter the city.

This year Israel increased its efforts to rid Jerusalem of Palestinian residents by revoking the residency rights of the indigenous citizens of the city. They have confiscated their Jerusalem identity cards during the routine yearly renewal and sent written notices by mail informing Palestinians their residency in the city has "expired."

The lives of families were disrupted when the Israelis demolished their homes forcing them to dwell in tents in order to retain their residency rights. A tent city of sixty families in this predicament has sprung up in an attempt to retain their residency in the city. They are camped under the hill of the Hebrew university with no water or electricity and two toilet blocks for the whole camp. All Palestinian children born after their parents cards are confiscated are not legally registered and

cannot obtain a birth certificate and lose rights which other citizens enjoy... for example going to school. Jerusalem has always been regarded as the Palestinian capital and is home to their best medical services, educational institutions and businesses. Other Israeli plans to expand Jerusalem southward will push the settlers numbers in the south - south-east area up to 50,000 by the year 2010. There are currently 13,000. Israel plans to take more Palestinian land to provide roads for the new settlements. Meanwhile protests were held on the West Bank over more villages threatened with confiscation in order to expand the Israeli Modi'in block cross border settlement.

We want to point out all this expansion is in the West Bank area that Israel controls under military occupation. Israel proper has vast expanses of vacant land conquered in 1948. It does not need the remaining 23% of West Bank land where Palestinians are trying to rebuild their lives. It is the story of Naboths vineyard again in our century.(I Kings 21) These are just a few stories. However these are not isolated unconnected events. They are the evidence of harsh policies and a ruthlessly implemented campaign to force Palestinians from their land.

Why haven't you read of these things before? We asked a reporter on assignment for one of the worlds most prestigious news magazines, "If you wrote the truth about what is happening here would your magazine print it." He answered that "we must write within the understood limitations of this area. Its not like writing on other parts of the world." Why not? Why can't we hold Israel up the same standards of justice as the rest of the world?

You have been there but did not see these things? Its rare for Palestinians to obtain employment with Israeli tour agents and these businesses limit their customers contacts with Palestinians and the areas under occupation. One such group was bussed to see Bethlehem. At the checkpoint mentioned in this report that causes so much inconvenience and even death to Palestinians, one tourist asked why they were stopping. The

tour guide replied, "This is a toll road and we are paying the toll."

The Palestinian leadership, religious and secular, all asked our group for international help by placing sanctions on Israel forcing her to end the occupation and give equal rights to non-Jews within Israel. They asked the churches of the west to be their voice because "we are powerless." What we saw is an apartheid state but worse than South Africa because the truth is still not being told.

*Robert Gustafson and Christine Mallouhi*

**Robert Gustafson** lives in Bethlehem and works with Diakonia a joint Swedish Government\Christian Organisation for Palestinian Development.

**Christine Mallouhi**, a human rights activist, represents Alkalima publishing association.

### **Proposed Israeli Act will OUTLAW NEW TESTAMENT**

*Christopher Walker*

In Jerusalem Christians are up in arms about a proposed Israeli law that they fear could be interpreted as making possession of the New Testament a criminal offence punishable by a year in jail.

The proposed legislation takes the form of a far-reaching extension of statutes against missionary activity. The proposal has recently passed its first Knesset reading and is now before the Law Committee of the 120-seat parliament.

Clarence Wagner, a prominent Jerusalem-based Christian and member of the religious group Bridges for Peace, said: "There has been a preliminary reading on a law which makes it illegal to have literature which can be considered missionary. Just having a New Testament in my home can be construed in certain quarters as being missionary. I see these kind of laws as a great threat to the Jewish State and to democracy."

An English translation of the draconian proposed law states:

"Whoever possesses contrary to the law, or prints or copies or distributes or shares or imports tracts, or advertises things in which there is an inducement for religious conversion is liable for one-year imprisonment."



The amendment adds:

"Any tract or advertisement in which there is inducement to religious conversion will be confiscated."

The new law is much tougher than the existing antimissionary legislation which is opposed to "any missionary seduction to convert religion", especially that involving minors and offering financial inducements to Jewish adults to convert.

Jan Willem Van der Hoewen, the spokesman for the pro-Israel International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem, told *The Jerusalem Report*: "Churches around the world have fasted and prayed against this law." He expressed concern that it could diminish broad support for Israel among evangelical Christians.

Christians are hoping to whip up parliamentary opposition against the further readings necessary to transform the Bill into law. Christian leaders are well aware, however, that religious Jews won large numbers of votes in last year's election and, with 23 seats in the Knesset, could make or break any feasible coalition led by a secular party. The Bill's sponsors, Moshe Gafni, of the ultra-Orthodox United Torah Judaism Party, and Nissim Zvili, of the main opposition Labor Party, claim that they are responding to a Christian missionary campaign last year, when hundreds of thousands of Jews received proselytizing material in the post.

Mr Zvili, a close ally of Shimon Peres, the defeated Labor leader, denied that his sponsorship of the Bill had anything to do with Labor attempts to woo religious parties away from the ruling right-wing coalition. He claimed that the proposed Bill was aimed at enabling Israel to act against "an organized campaign by missionary movements, funded by international organizations, to bring about mass conversion of Jews".

Mr Van der Hoewen was scathing about Mr Zvili's role in

promoting the attempted clamp down. "From a member of a party that believes in an open, pluralistic society, this is almost unforgivable," Mr Van der Hoewen said. Baruch Maoz, the head of the Grace and Truth Christian Congregation, a Tel Aviv-based Messianic Jewish group, claimed that the Bill "criminalizes basic human rights. It limits the freedom of people to tell about their beliefs."

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Report*, Mr Zvili pledged that the version of the Bill which finally emerges from the Law Committee to complete its Knesset passage would be much "gentler" than that passed during the first reading. He said: "No one will be barred from possessing the New Testament. If the law violates the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, I will not support it." Mr Gafni sounded a different note: "The Jewish nation suffered enough through its history as a result of attempts to convert it," he said. "What is freedom of speech compared with this?"

*The Times*

*London, May 8, 1997*

### **SETTLEMENT BULLDOZERS DAMAGE OLD JERUSALEM CHURCH**

Jerusalem, (May 16, 1997) - Bulldozers working on a new Jewish settlement in East Jerusalem have seriously damaged the remains of an ancient church, an official at Israel's Antiquities Authority said on Friday. The incident was the latest controversy surrounding Israel's building of the settlement. Israel-Palestinian peacemaking ground to a halt when Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu ordered work to begin at the site on March 18.

"Despite all the warnings of the Antiquities Authority and specific instructions to the planners, they ignored what they were told and ran over the church and seriously damaged the antiquities," the authority's Zvi Greenhut told Reuters.

The fifth century Cathisma church is believed to have been built to commemorate the Virgin Mary's trip to Bethlehem on the eve of the birth of Jesus. Greenhut said while parts of the site had been excavated most of it was still underground but had been fenced off. Archeologists say the mosaic floors damaged by the bulldozers were unique in richness and design.

"There is damage to the mosaics and the walls," Greenhut said. He said the authority had successfully prevented the paving of a road over the site five years ago.

Greenhut said the Israeli Housing Ministry was responsible for the work and the damage. Ministry officials were not immediately available to comment...

**Reuters**

May 16, 1997

# **TARGETS FOR DESTRUCTION ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS AND ISLAM**

Perhaps the most significant recent development of the "master plan" is revealed in the two-pronged attack on orthodox Christianity and Islam.

Who would have thought just a decade ago that these two widely divergent religious groups would find themselves arrayed against a common "enemy" called Zionism? This phenomenon is not the creation of either of them, but rather the result of the plan by Zionists to make it so. Until now, Islam and Christianity have been enemies in the minds of many, but as the anti-Christ system reveals its identity ever more clearly, both orthodox Christianity and Islam are seen as its final targets for destruction. This is yet to be comprehended by most evangelical and fundamentalist Christians who have been neutralized by the tenets of Talmudic eschatology.

Christians are deeply concerned over the escalation of Christian bashing, including lawsuits of every kind. Thirty years ago this volume of bashing was unheard of, and even today the primary bashers are unsuspected by most Christians—at least they are unchallenged. Until now the bashers have been reticent to openly accuse the New Testament of being "anti-Semitic" for fear of waking up too many of its adherents, but their long term stratagems of infiltration and mass propaganda have been so successful that they can finally

declare their intent. The best example of this declaration is their holocaust museum in Washington with its attendant paraphernalia and disinformation. We now know for certain that they intend to demolish orthodox Christianity if possible. Orthodox Christians are those who haven't fallen for liberalism or Talmudic influences.

But how did Islam become the other target? That should be obvious in the political and economic realities of post-1948. Although some elements in the Arab world were probably created or managed by the world planners to serve their own ends, true believers in Islam oppose Zionism's propaganda and tactics. Because of this, little by little, Islamic activists have been pinpointed as enemies of the U.S. because America, as the power behind Zionism (or should we say the power OF Zionism) is the "Great Satan" to Islamites. This was made clear by the media after the bombing of the World Trade Center. The FBI, for example, is switching its emphasis from counter espionage to counter terrorism (See the "*Forward*" newspaper, Aug. 12, 1994, p. 1, also "*The Spotlight*", Aug. 15, 1994, p.5). It is convenient that this is made possible by the "demise" of the USSR and the end of the Cold War... But suppose, just for brainstorming purposes, that the World Trade Center caper was pulled off by Israeli forces (perhaps in cahoots with others) for the purpose of angering Americans and solidifying their opposition to Islam. This tactic has always been used by nations at war, whether the wars were ideological or physical. But no matter who did it, Americans now hate the Islamic world more than ever...

Another propaganda coup for the Zionists in their efforts to isolate and anathematize Islam and orthodox Christianity has recently been realized in the pact signed by forty prominent Evangelicals and Roman Catholics who agreed that Islam is the dangerous toe of Christianity (*SMYRNA*, June 1994). Thus the line has been drawn: Zionists and Judeophile Christians pitted against orthodox Christians and Muslims, both of whom, as a

matter of propagandist's definition (also politically correct), are "anti-Semites", "bigots" and "racists" - "right-wing extremists".

—*Smyrna*  
(October 1994)

### **The Ruinlord**

We came to this country[Palestine] which was already populated by Arabs, and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is a Jewish, state here... Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of the Arab villages, and I do not blame you, because these geography books no longer exists; not only do the books not exist [but] the Arab villages are not there either. Nahala arose in the place of Mahalul, Gevat in the place of Jibita, Sarid in the place of Haneifs, and Kefar Yohoshua in the place of Tell Shaman. There is not one place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population.”

—Moshe Dayan, Haaretz, April 4, 1969

## OF THE DIFFICULTY IN FILMING RUINS

Simone Bitton

*« L'homme n'est rien d'autre que  
le moule du paysage où il est né ».*

*--Shaül Tchernikovsky,*

*Hebrew poet of Russian origin, 1875-1943.*

6:30 am

- Who are you? What are you doing here?
- This man is born here. We would like to film him in his place of birth.
- No way. You will not film.
- Why?
- Because I have decided against it. I am at home here, and I am asking you to leave.
- What are you afraid of?
- I am not afraid of anything. Leave or I'll call the police.

8:00

- Hello? Saint-Jean of Acre police? We've been driven away from a hill at the edge of the Ahihoud moshav, where we were getting ready to film Barbary figs, mulberry trees, and several ruins out in the open.
- Was there any violence?
- Verbal. We fled before taking the risk of getting our camera destroyed. We're peaceful film producers; brawls are



not our strongpoint.

- Sorry, we only intervene in case of physical violence.

- By the way, we'd also like to film your police station.

And the prison behind it. We're making a film on a man that spent some time among you several years ago. This experience made of him a great poet.

- No problem. What channel is this for?

9:30

- Hello? Maître B.? Does the law allow us to film ruins out in the open.

- That depends. Is there a barrier around the site?

- Yes, some broken barbed wire.

- Is there a military panel anywhere?

- No.

- Then this is neither a closed military zone, nor a mine field. The people who drove you away, did they show you a title-deed?

- No. They showed us their muscles and we fled like cowards. The poet's uncle was ready to fight, but we convinced him that power was not on our side.

- If they have a title-deed, the case is difficult but not impossible. How much filming time have you lost? Would you like to file a damage complaint in the name of your production company?

- No, we want to film. We want to film these ruins.

- Listen, the region is full of ruins. Why don't you film those in Kibbutz d'Beit Haemek. They're still in good shape, and the people are welcoming; they're used to journalists.

- We're film producers, Maître, not journalists. And we want to film these ruins here, not the others. Each poet's childhood is unique, even if he, himself pretends otherwise. See, we're looking for a certain well in which the moon used to reflect and a certain mulberry tree under which the Parish-priest used to play checkers. These are serious and precious things

that one does not find anywhere else.

10:45

- Hello? Israeli Land Management? To whom does the Ahihoud land belong to? You know, the one where there are Barbary fig trees as far as the eye can see.

- It's a domanian land. Property of the state, well, of the Jewish people. The inhabitants of Ahihoud have the right to use it for grazing.

- Does the law allow them to prevent us from filming?

- Courtesy requests that you get along with the ones who are using it, but the freedom of the press works in your favor.

- We're not of the press, we're film producers. We're making a film on a poet.

- A missing poet?

- An absent poet. That is, very present. Especially in the Barbary fig trees.

- I understand. An artistic film.

- That's right.

- Try to soften them, they're brave people, we know them well, but they're a bit fiery, Yemenite people, you know. You have to know how to deal with them, but they're not mean.

11:30

- Hello again. We'd like to talk with the mayor, the moshav secretary, the rabbi, well, the local authorities.

- He's not there. He went to the bank. We have debts, like all those who work hard in this country. Not like you in Tel Aviv, all these leftists who spend their time in the cafés speaking well of Arabs, and who are paid to write so in the papers. Where is the Arab who was with you this morning?

- He's resting about a kilometer away.

- They're all a kilometer away from here. They snap at us, they want our houses. The right to return, that's it. You give them a little, they take it all. All you Ashkénazes, you



Mahmoud Darwish, Samih el Kassem and Tawfiq Fayyad, Haifa, late 60's.

understand nothing of the Arabs.

- I'm of Moroccan origin.
- No kidding? And a journalist?
- Film producer.
- Wow! And you like Arabs?
- Yes.

12:00 pm

- So it's like that, you've assembled the whole region? What's his name of Israel Land already called.

- At the bank?
- He reached me on my mobile phone. Be frank, your film, is it politics?
- Poetry. A poet was born here and we're making a film about him. If you were asked to make a film about someone, wouldn't you film his place of birth?
- I don't make films. I take care of cows. And what is he called, your poet?

- Mahmoud Darwish.
- That sounds familiar. And he doesn't do politics?
- Not anymore than Haïm Nahman Bialik.
- Here is Yakov. He is the one who drove you out this morning. It's his patch of land. If you manage to convince him, I wash my hands of the whole affair. Yakov, she's their boss, and she's Moroccan, calm down. She does poetry, not politics.

12:30

- We're of Yemenite origin. Do you know that we have great poets? Why don't you ever make a film on our poets?
- Because films are very expensive to make, and the people who give money in this country don't give a damn about Yemenite poets.

- But they do Arab poets?
- Even less. The money comes from France. The French like Arab poetry. Personally, I'd be glad to go to Yemen and

film the place of birth of your poets. But what would you say if I received the same treatment?

- It's your fault. You come with Arabs.

- So what? He was born here.

- Me too.

- That's why you should read his poems. He speaks well of this landscape. You'd surely recognize yourself in it.

- When my father arrived here, there was nothing but these ruins. We were given tents. Then, huts. It took me twenty years to build a house. And you want me to give it to him?

- I want you to let me film these ruins which used to be his house. He could be your father. Aren't you ashamed?

- Don't be naïve. They want the right to return.

- You're scared they'll get it?

- Yes.

- And that they'll drive you out the way you drove them out?

- I haven't driven anyone out. We were taken off a truck and told: this is it, that's your lookout, the rest is up to you. Your parents too, no? Now they're not happy, all they have to do is go to Arafat.

- Yakov, I want to come back this afternoon, with Abou Souheil. He wants to pray on his ancestors' land. Do you understand?

- We'll see. Anyway, who is he, this Darwish?

- He writes about this place. About these Barbary figs, about the trees. About the well.

- Which well? There are eight of them.

- Would you be kind enough to show them to me?

- Later. There's a underground spring under the hill. Does he write about the spring?

- No, I don't think so.

- He's surely forgotten.

- And about the church, does he write about the church? There used to be a church, but it's been demolished. The school

has been kept, for the milk cows, for the calves.

- The school's been transformed into a stable?

- Why not?

- That's true, why not, after all! As for them, they used to have a horse. Are there any fruit trees?

- Sure! When we were kids, we'd live off them : figs, mulberries, all the good that God has created. That's my childhood, these trees.

- His too.

2pm

The shooting starts in front of the little school where Mahmoud Darwish learned the alphabet. Almost thirty cows ruminate peacefully, in precisely at the place where the poet was introduced to the words which are constitute his homeland. Abou Souheil is praying for the memory of Birwa. Yakov is observing him from afar, sitting under the shade of the mulberry. Everything is calm. Yakov is immersed in his childhood memories, when the trucks brought his father to the ruins of Birwa. Yakov tries to recite an old yemenite poem. He's forgotten the words, but the melody is haunts him. If you come to see my mother, she will sing it to you. Will you come?

*Revue d'études palestiniennes* Automne (Fall) 1997

Translated from the French by Kinda Akash



The European medieval world map, centered on Jerusalem, from a thirteen-century psalter

## **“VICTIMS OF A MAP”**

### **Borderland Memory: History, Place and Identity in Palestinian Poetry 1967-1982**

#### **I**

#### **MYTH MAKING HISTORY**

##### **Remembering fiction or faction?**

It is possible to see the Palestinians today as an image in a constructed history of linear events. Their perceived identity is determined largely by the influence of foreign powers in repeatedly representing them in pejorative terms. Such representations, guided by colonial, or neo-colonial, ideology and discourse, have rendered them the silent "Others," approached always in relation to Israel. The assumptions commonly made about them have since become 'fact,' integrated into the historical discourse surrounding the 'Arab-Israeli Conflict.' The history which is based on this 'fact,' or colored by its pervasiveness, authorizes the cultivation of additional mythologies which in turn further marginalize the already subjugated Palestinian "Other."

The presence of these narratives within the paradigm of resistance literature necessitates the re-emphasis of essential, 'authentic' cultural elements that may have been elided in popular narratives, like those presented by CNN. One of the weapons Palestinians rely on in their resistance is memory, embodied by the signifier 'Palestine.' The cultural emphasis on memory compensates for the Palestinian absence from the Israeli authorized present, inspiring a sense of 'belonging.' Without this emphasis on memory, Palestinians face inevitable extinction as the condition of their borderland existence increasingly limits cultural practices, isolating



them from 'official' versions of reality. However, the nature of this peripheral positionality within the borderland has significantly altered their conception of the past and remembrance is clouded by reminiscence and nostalgia. Accordingly, Palestinian recall is geared, almost totally, to negating Israeli, and in turn Western, discourse. Identity is, in this sense, manufactured *in absentia*.

In order to understand the proposed relationship between memory and forgetting, history and myth, representations of Palestinians must be contextualized within an all-embracing colonial discourse. The colonial paradigm and its language of binarisms proposes a concept of 'history' that elides objective fact. Assumed to be European (or more recently, Western), this history ostracizes and excludes narratives which compromise its position as centre. The process of sanitizing Western history demonizes the non-West by constructing a mythical historical narrative.<sup>3</sup> According to Roland Barthes, myth is a semiological system proposing a relationship between form (signifier) and content (signified), resulting in signification (sign).<sup>4</sup> Hiding nothing, myth functions to distort and deform meaning, bringing a new history to 'content.' The 'haemorrhaging,' or translation of history to nature, empties reality, glossing over the historical nature of things. The history of the 'Arab-Israeli Conflict,' for both Palestinians and Israelis, is constructed largely through the system that Barthes describes.

In examining Palestinian attempts to resist this hegemonic historicizing, it is essential to understand how these Eurocentric myths are cultivated and absorbed into social, academic and political frameworks.<sup>5</sup> While Palestinians are repeatedly represented as an appendage to the primacy of the State of Israel, we must initially appreciate the thesis that defines the hegemonic mythology: that is, the belief that Israel is a unique society, especially since 1967. For the West, Israel's difference, in the context of the Arab Middle East, is marked by its position as a "beleaguered and courageous outpost ... in the midst of inhospitable infidels."<sup>6</sup> This alone provides Israel with a degree of legitimacy in comparison to its Arab neighbors. Yet, the legacy of uniqueness is more complex on the level of Zionist ideology and the religious perception of the Jews as the 'light unto the nations,' or 'the chosen people.' In sum, Israel enjoys "unique immunity from

criticism in mainstream journalism and scholarship."<sup>7</sup>

Such positive differentiation allows Israel to fluctuate ambiguously between the positions of Empire/Nation, minority/majority, playing the parts of both David and Goliath.<sup>8</sup> It is described as "tiny" yet "dagger-shaped;"<sup>9</sup> powerful and submerged by a "sea of 100 million enemies."<sup>10</sup> The deceptive trend in media representations appears to be heightened during periods following major events or confrontations, like the June War. Likewise, historical analyses of the 'Arab-Israeli Conflict' have been concerned with the chronological timetable provided by these major events - 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982, and so on. It is only recently that studies of Israeli and Palestinian society have appeared, broadening the superficially linear perspective of chronological studies. These histories and representations, an example of Israel's complicity with western, masculine, Eurocentric discourse, question the very existence of the Palestinians, forcing them to formulate their identity in opposition to that of their oppressors.<sup>11</sup>

In creating this unique national memory, Israel's legitimizing campaign has proceeded with Orientalizing force, reiterating the icons of Zionist experience in the "Land of Milk and Honey;" including the kibbutz and military heroism. The Western Wall similarly attests to the strong "monumental discourse"<sup>12</sup> that exists in Israel. Even the Holocaust (a "man-made black hole"<sup>13</sup> through which Palestinian identity and experience pass), reimagined through Masada and remembered through Yad Vashem, "is made into a universal, pan-Israeli symbol of a sense of helplessness."<sup>14</sup> This discourse is secured by memorial sites and museums and epitomized by the wrecks from the 1948 War of Independence that litter Bab el Wad (an appropriated Arab name for the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem).<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the campaign to 'make the desert bloom' invokes the quest to rescue the land from Palestinians who, allegedly, as a result of neglect, forfeited their right to it.<sup>16</sup> Such iconography—the Western Wall, Masada, memorials—has performative functions, physically laying claim to the place Israel and will be further addressed in Part Two. The image of Israel is encapsulated by the signifier *Eretz Yisrael* (literally the 'Land of Israel,' whose connotations, however, shift with the political climate). This signifier engages directly with

the mythological translation of history, disseminated en masse as recently as 1984 by Joan Peters, in her *From Time Immemorial*.<sup>17</sup> The response that such books elicit from Palestinian communities illustrates their fear of the potential for Zionist discourse to dissolve them “into a cloud of historical fantasy.”<sup>18</sup> The conviction of this ‘fantasy’ relies on a complex matrix of denials that form the basis of myth. The most cited example is the Israeli erasure of the massacre at Deir Yassin (9 April, 1948) where 245 Palestinians were killed. Palestinian historians cite this instance as one of the key triggers of the 1948 Exodus, claiming that the psychological impact of the fate of these villagers, sympathetic to the Zionists, incited others to flee.<sup>19</sup> Israelis, until recently, denied knowledge of the incident, blaming terrorist groups (the Stern Gang and Irgun).<sup>20</sup> Similar episodes occurred at Khirbat Nasir al-Din, near Tiberias (11-12 April, 1948), Ein az-Zeitun, near Safad (3 January, 1948, Operation Yiftah), and ad-Dawayma, in the Hebron district (October 29, 1948, Operation Yoav). Furthermore, historical treatment of the expulsions from Lydda and Ramle (9-18 July, 1948, Operation Dani) is indicative of the Israeli policy of suppressing information in order to protect the image of the State. (Most Zionists today would be surprised to read that “Shamir’s Stern Gang offered an alliance to Adolf Hitler whom it addressed with great respect, in early 1941”<sup>21</sup>). Israeli censorship on this issue is so stringent that Prime Minister Rabin was prohibited from including an account of Palestinian expulsions in his memoirs!<sup>22</sup> The Palestinians have been similarly omitted from the physical landscape of Israel, as Part Two explores.

As has been shown, the “uniqueness of Israeli society”, reinforced by what Morris calls “old History,”<sup>23</sup> underlies the over-simplification of the narrative of Palestinian/Israeli history. Palestinian resistance, precluding a national character, is consistently underplayed, relegated from revolution to either “riots” or “incidents,” and more recently to terrorism. Alternatively, Palestinian history is either romanticized or denigrated, perpetuating the perception of it as primitive folklore.<sup>24</sup> Major incidents in Palestinian national resistance—the 1968 Battle of Karameh, the riots in West Bank 1973-76, Land Day (March 30, 1976)—are omitted from widely-read, Western English accounts of ‘modern history’. For the West, the P.L.O. “is to

the slaughter of men, women and children what France is to wine."<sup>25</sup>

The gap in historiography rests on the more general problem of representations of the 'Arab.' *Time's* 1967 article "Arabia Decepta," epitomises this trend. Here 'Arab' culture, religion and politics are repeatedly described as suffering from biologically manifested ailments: "inferiority complexes," "emotional ... to the point of delirium," "intoxicated on words."<sup>26</sup> Such willful negation and degeneration of 'Arab-ness' facilitates the construction of binarisms proposing a centre/margin, self/other style of hegemonic discourse.<sup>27</sup> Integral to this type of representation is the equation of 'native as savage' which invokes orientalist generalizations that imply a simplified and inferior Arab character. This is most obviously played out in terrorist images. For example, while the terrorism of Israelis Baruch Goldstein (massacred 29 Palestinians in Hebron, February 1994) or Yigal Amir (Yitzhak Rabin's assassin, November 1995) is described as individual, uncharacteristic acts, the media depicts all acts of Arab terrorism as typical.<sup>28</sup> Palestinian resistance to this stereotype centres upon blaming Israel for introducing terrorism to the Middle East.<sup>29</sup>

Ironically, the impact of Israeli narratives and representations encourages the prevalence of a glossed Palestinian national memory, practically supported at the institutional and political levels of Palestinian society and largely sponsored by the nationalist movement.<sup>30</sup> Palestinian education (not surprisingly) reflects negative Israeli imagery back onto itself, describing the Israelis as cowardly and aggressive. Shipler reveals an incident of distorted education where a Palestinian girl had understood that there was in fact a Palestinian State prior to the creation of Israel.<sup>31</sup> Such misinformation aims to unite the population by encouraging Palestinians to gloss over the negative aspects of their history. Consequently, factional and class disagreements that were partly responsible for the 1936-1939 Revolt go unmentioned, while the *fellahin* lifestyle of pre-Israel Palestine is glorified. In more recent times, constraints on reporting emphasize a positive (one-sided) image of the P.L.O.<sup>32</sup> In fact the P.L.O. goes to great lengths to hide any disunity that might disturb the stability of the imaginary united Palestinian front. The quiet resignation of Edward Said and Mahmoud

Darwish from the Palestine National Council in 1991 and 1993 respectively, fits with this trend. The long-term acceptance of "old history" has meant that "the myths have led a life of their own."<sup>33</sup> Over time, they have converged to construct binarisms, fabricating a monologic, linear historical discourse, and erasing the Palestinian presence—it is an 'Arab-Israeli' conflict, not an 'Israeli-Palestinian' one.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, the dissolution of a Palestinian historical voice has forced the growth of a subterranean, resistant narrative of Palestinian histories that "dialogize ... authoritarian discourse."<sup>35</sup> The expression of this history and resistance is facilitated by "shadow historical apparatuses,"<sup>36</sup> predominantly through poetry. Indeed, it was Moshe Dayan who said of Fadwa Tuqan that one of her poems was enough to create ten commandos.<sup>37</sup> The bifocal perspective allowed by the poetic genre enables Palestinian poets

to take up the history of my people and their struggle from an aesthetic angle that differs from the prevalent and repeatable meanings available from an unmediated political reading.<sup>38</sup>

Thus poetry functions as a means of commemoration, forging a symbolic unity between past and present. The prevalence of historical revisioning is demonstrated by the following analyses which focus specifically on 'authentic' tracts of Palestinian history that resist popular narratives.

### **Mahmoud Darwish: "*Promises from the Storm*"<sup>53</sup>**

While [Fadwa] Tuqan and [Laila] 'Alloush both present significant accounts of Palestinian history and resistance, it is Mahmoud Darwish who responds most overtly to the Israeli occupation which began in the West Bank in 1967. In his *Poem of the Land*,<sup>54</sup> Darwish, extends the process of historical revisioning by textually commemorating the incidents of Land Day, March 30, 1976. As the foregone discussion has illustrated, this "decisive milestone in the political consciousness and self-confidence of the Arab community"<sup>55</sup> has been commonly glossed or belittled in historical accounts. Indeed, it was only in March 1989 that Israeli sources recognized March 30 as a National Day for the Palestinians. In this poem, Darwish encapsulates the

complexity of representing Palestinian narratives of history and asserting Palestinian voices from the space in between, where only absences and exiles are fixed. Utilizing a plethora of genres in structuring the poem he emphasizes the necessity of stylistically unfixed, fluid accounts of history to posit a resistant, steadfast position.

The poem's opening exegesis provides a historical contextualization through a skeletal account of the events that transpired. It is a largely unemotional description, distancing the poet from the event. Significantly it sets a tone for the poem, permitting the poet a legitimate, authorized voice—because of the distance it implies. In many ways it resembles the "joyous accounts" described by Tuqan, deluding unsuspecting readers into an allegedly false sense of reality. I emphasize this opening because it is a stark juxtaposition to the emotion running throughout the length of the poem itself, and its difference proposes a dialogue between the two main discourses in question: those of the centre and the margin.

The stanza following the exegesis, composed in simple verse, explicates the factual account with an emotional resonance. Standing on its own, un-labelled by the numerical system, this stanza symbolizes the monologic, linear version of the March 30 events. From this point, the poem widens its perspective to explore the various other histories contributing to this single narrative. The reliance on a web of histories as a means of composing a chronicle usurps the potential of the first stanza to dictate and delineate the impact of the tragedy. This notion is concretely manifested by the diverse numbering system that utilizes two versions of recording, both roman numerals and plain numbers, illustrating the many responses elided by a purely monologic, linear account.

Viewing the text as a series of individual extracts serving to contextualize each other, forces readers to consider it both as individual poems and as a unified entity. "In the month of March" is seemingly the linkage over time; stanza 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. However, this is broken down by the interjection of the spaces out of time, represented by the roman numerals. These passages outside of time negate the control held by the traditional linearity of "In the month of March." The tone of the two forms of representation is similarly juxtaposed,

and the poet takes a more active and demonstrative role in the subversive stanzas; “I name the soil” (stanza I). The technique of deconstructing modes of recording facilitates the confusion created by the shuttling of the persona’s voice, between the individual “I” and the representation of “we,” for example in stanzas I and 2. Furthermore, “I” exists in both the present and the past and the two states mirror one another. For the reader, present and past have elided, enabling the “Arab boy” to return “to what has been/ As if I walked/ in front of myself”.

The significance of this image cannot be overlooked as it raises the issue of the reflection and mimicry, facilitating the crossing of boundaries (restoring “harmony/ between the trial and the verdict”) by inverting accepted ideology. As an image or visual icon, the mirror ambiguously implies the girls’ death, described as “the heart-mirrors of the country,” within the context of a larger struggle for national liberation. Words, too, are utilized in this mirroring process; III refers to “the son/ of simple words/ ... the *martyr* of the map,” paralleled in IV:

I am the witness of the massacre  
I am the *victim* of the map  
I am the son of simple words.

The difference in layout assists the process of inversion, and the disjunction between the “martyr” and the “victim” engages directly with the questions of representation raised in the first part of this chapter. Furthermore, the significance of the ‘victim’ stance is pivotal to Palestinian conceptions of self and will be broached in Part Three.

As a collective entity, in stanza 5, the poem invokes the fissure between “*reminiscence*,” “*recollection*,” and “*remembrance*.” The significance of these terms resounds in a historical context where each is questionable in the task of recording history. Historicizing memory, the persona’s narrative becomes progressively sparse and abstract, seizing increasingly on images vital to Palestinian culture—“The orange adopts./ My greenness.” Inevitably, the “obsession of memories” clouds both time and place, drawing the persona into the nostalgia of reminiscence where seemingly “Evening

was evening." The linear restriction of "In the month of March" has dissolved and all that remains of the past are "the inaccurate memories of one place slipping into vague memories of another."<sup>56</sup>

A small village  
A neglected village  
Two sleeping eyes  
Thirty years  
Five years

The slippage recorded here[...] engage overtly with the position of the Palestinian in relation to the imagined homeland, Palestine. The following section explores this construction, extending the discussion of historical and demographic elisions.

## II IMAGINING PALESTINE:

**"A country full of words"<sup>57</sup>**

As has been illustrated, historical revisioning centres upon the image of Palestine. Emphasis on the idyllic pre-*Nakbah* past has created a nostalgic vision of Palestine within the historical consciousness of the nation. Such recall relies as much on forgetting as it does on remembering—thus the title of Darwishes' memoir *Memory for Forgetfulness*. The incorporation of Palestine into the struggle for liberation necessitates the glossing of irreconcilable elements in Palestinian history and culture, as Part One revealed. Inevitably the imagined place is incongruous with reality of the exile, borderland condition, leading Palestinians to internalize the vision of Palestine by recreating it in cultural and national practices. Therefore it becomes "A country full of words." This section deals with the images of Palestine as they exist in the positions of each of the poets [...19] It culminates in the realization that a return to Palestine is a return to self: "Can I come back to you/ to myself?"<sup>58</sup>

The physical reality of the Palestinian borderland position has been heightened by several factors. The first of these is the unfixed nature of Israel's borders, which have never officially been declared. Israel, described by [Anton] Shammas as "a blob of color floating



around without defined edges,"<sup>59</sup> defines each of her borders in different terms:

since 1967 the settlements have been within four types of borders: a recognized and accepted border (Sinai, the Arava), a unilaterally recognized border (the Jordan River), a border whose existence is disregarded (Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip), and a defacto border (southern Lebanon). No other country in the world has so many types of borders as Israel.<sup>60</sup>

The most contentious of these borders is the old 'Green Line,' the 1949 cease-fire line separating Israel from West Bank and Jordan. This line is "recognized internationally but effaced, for example on maps distributed by Israel's tourism industry."<sup>61</sup> As a result of such publicity, from the outside, the West Bank is perceived as a part of *Eretz Yisrael* (a point of great contention, even within Israeli society). This perception is reflected in the naming of the region. In 1977 it became Judea and Samaria (connoting biblical *Eretz Yisrael*): later it was renamed the "administered" lands, and then the "territories." Each name attempts to avoid the implications of "Occupied Territory."

However, the irony of the situation is that while Israel "tried to rub out the borders ... to treat those areas as part of Greater Israel, (it) at the same time refus(ed) to fully admit them into Israel proper."<sup>62</sup> West Bank Palestinians are not given Israeli citizenship, they are denied access to state institutions and subjected to a farcical state law.<sup>63</sup> House demolitions, curfews, school and university closures, censorship, arrests and deportations punctuate life within this space. In reality, "the tendency was to see the territories, but to close one's eyes to the people there."<sup>64</sup> Such ideology, reflected in the road system that allows Israelis to access settlements in the territories without encountering Palestinian population centres, raises the second factor relevant to the Palestinian border position. That is the contradiction posed by the condition of semi-invisibility, necessitating an existence wherein the subject is present, but simultaneously absent, positioned in "protracted temporariness."<sup>65</sup> Consequently, the West Bank functions as a no-man's land, detached and isolated, the ultimate appendage to all tangible, 'visible' structures. An addendum to reality, it is "like a bomb shelter under continuous shelling."<sup>66</sup> Invariably,

"the borderline is always ambivalent: sometimes it is seen as an inherent part of the inside, at other times it is seen as part of the chaotic wilderness outside."<sup>67</sup>

The physical situation of the West Bank epitomizes the ambivalence of the Palestinian position. Those who remained in Israel (concentrated in the north, in Jerusalem, the Galilee, and the Little Triangle, the strip of land running adjacent to the West Bank from Qalqiliya to Umm el-Fahm)<sup>68</sup> suffered similar marginalization, although somewhat more obscure. The problems they faced were/are not limited by an invisible 'Green Line.' As Shammas notes: "the problem is, how wide are the margins? How porous is the border?"<sup>69</sup> Palestinians in this position are subject to antagonism from both Israel, for obvious reasons, and from their Palestinian counterparts in the territories. Such antagonism is rooted in their apparent complicity with the enemy:

I suppose to fundamentalist Arabs I've sold out ... because I don't want to see Israel become a state that begins with 'P' ... I am an Arab trying to live here, trying to live as a real Israeli.<sup>70</sup>

Other Palestinians who exist in exile, outside Palestine, embody a position which fluctuates between the essentialism of the West Bank poets and the hybridized vision of the Palestinian-Israelis—similar to the fluctuation evident in Said's theorizing.<sup>71</sup> The Diaspora state of exile "suggests the complex, dynamic potency of living memory: more incorporated than inscribed."<sup>72</sup> For these Palestinians the vividness of the imagined Palestine "recreates the world in its shape,"<sup>73</sup> bringing Palestine into existence, outside of itself. However, while there is a potential to tend toward this fantastic image of Palestine, the exile community is subject to a wide range of media and other influences which mediate this vision. Consequently their relationship with Palestine is ambiguous, as Mahmoud Darwish notes:

Palestine had been transformed from a homeland into a slogan, not for action, but for use as a tool to make statements about events and to embellish the discourse of *coup d'état* industry.<sup>74</sup>

The significance of the memory of Palestine to each of these borderland subjectivities is magnified by the reality of a long history

of land appropriations and erasures. Zionist operations and settlement programs, which began under Plan Dalet and were continued by the Allon Plan, instituted "one system of memorialization at the expense of another ... to erase the common ground where communication with the 'Natives' might have occurred."<sup>75</sup> Yad Vashem and the neighborhoods Ein Kerem, Bayt Zayit and Even Sapir were built over the Arab village of Ayn Karim; al Birwa replaced Yas'ur (January 1949); Al Majdal became Ashkelon (1949); and at the site of Deir Yasin was built the suburb Givat Sha'ul Bet, a hospital for the mentally handicapped occupies one of the original village houses. In other instances, the names of Arab villages were Hebraised: Saris became Shoresht (1948); Nuris became Nurit (1950); al-Hadith became Chadid (1950); Jimzu became Gimzo (1950); and Sar'a became Tzor'a (1948). Accordingly, Israel was able to delineate the 'empty' space of Palestine "as having a character, something that could be referred to."<sup>76</sup> The campaign was so successful that, in 1969, Moshe Dayan publicly noted:

Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages, and you do not even know the names of these Arab villages ... these geography books no longer exist; not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either ... There is not one place built in this country which did not have a former Arab population.<sup>77</sup>

Even sites that bore reminders of the Palestinian struggle, like the Acre Citadel, were efficiently covered over in this process,<sup>78</sup> which continued after 1967. Similarly, the natural character of Palestine was altered by the Zionist presence. The Jewish National Fund (JNF) who control State lands, have administered this change. Their campaign is epitomized by the cult-like influence of the tropes of *moledet* (homeland) and *yedia'at ha'aretz* (literally geography) within Israeli society.<sup>79</sup> The irony of programs of reforestation that erase the site of many destroyed villages is not lost on the Palestinians:

For me nature is, somehow the Jewish National Fund. All the forests and flora are the JNF. It's all artificial and counterfeit. <sup>80</sup>

The palimpsest of this new "spatial history"<sup>81</sup> and the displacement it brings for Palestinians has intensified recollections of place:

When you are exiled from your land ... you begin, like a pornographer to think about it in symbols. You articulate your love for your land, in its absence, and in the process transform it into something else.<sup>82</sup>

This transformation explains the nostalgic essentialism which characterizes the treatment of place within Palestinian poetry by poets who are said to speak with "the tenacity of a tree."<sup>83</sup>

The resulting "shadow cartography,"<sup>84</sup> similar to the 'shadow historical apparatuses' referred to in Part One, posits the *fellahin* (peasant) as the symbol of 'authentic' Palestinian lifestyle. In doing so, class conflicts and poverty which characterized Palestinian society in the pre-*Nakbah* period, are ignored. In turn, the landscape (and values) central to this lifestyle is elevated to a position of national significance. For example, the olive tree becomes a metaphor for the relationship of the Palestinian to the land. The collection of *Za'tar* (wild thyme, a mainstay in local diet) has been similarly nationalized, after a ban on the gathering of the thyme was issued in the West Bank. This latter icon has become even more evocative since 1976 when Tel Za'tar, a Palestinian refugee camp outside Beirut, fell to right-wing Lebanese forces. Another significant plant is the cactus, or *sabbar*, ironically the root of the name assumed by native born Israelis (sabras). The presence of cacti on the Israeli landscape attests to the existence of Arab farmers who utilized the plant to delineate their property. The persistence of this plant—Israeli attempts to eradicate it continuously fail—parallels the *sumud* spirit of the Palestinian resistance. The cultural and national significance of trees has been utilized by Palestinian sociologists, like Salim Tamari who refers to "olive Palestinians" and "orange Palestinians," differentiating those from rural and coastal areas respectively.<sup>85</sup>

Cities, too, are captured in similar memorializations. Jerusalem, Ramle, Lydda, Haifa, Jaffa, hallmarks in the collective Palestinian memory, each one reminiscent of a way of life that no longer exists. In all, the layered influences which have crossed over and covered the place, Palestine, lend the region a subterranean

historical voice, such that the only accurate witness appears to be the place itself - "if the stones of this hillside could speak."<sup>86</sup> The country today is a veritable palimpsest of cultural influences and past civilizations, "a network of nerves,"<sup>87</sup> each stone a vein leading to the heart that is Jerusalem. The erasure of these areas from the face of Palestine has directly influenced Palestinian identity, forcing the relocation of the national homeland to the Palestinian self. [...]

### III THE SELF UNDER FIRE

#### *"A place for a voice"*<sup>118</sup>

As the discussions of History and Place have implied, all Palestinians are forced to engage, to some degree, with the construction of their identity as an appendage, or unwanted limb, shadowing an Israeli reality. Invariably they have been cast in the role of either the victim or the terrorist. Ironically and perhaps unfortunately, these representations have been subconsciously internalized by Palestinians themselves, producing an "obsessive, xenophobic, essentialist"<sup>119</sup> trend within Palestinian culture and historiography. This trend seeks consistently to justify a unified Palestinian national identity. The emphasis on this oppositional Palestinian self, based entirely upon refuting Israeli negations, has produced a fractured subjectivity; defined concurrently by an Israeli ideology of difference and a Palestinian ideology of sameness.<sup>120</sup> Existing "at once inside and outside our world,"<sup>121</sup> all Palestinians are, in effect, in a state of permanent exile—both physically and in terms of the disruption to their identity. Literally "raped by history,"<sup>122</sup> the Palestinian identity is torn between Palestinian loyalty, various 'Arab' affiliations, and the need to rid itself of the question mark that shadows the existence of Palestine.

To combat the implications of the 'question of Palestine,' Palestinian writers necessarily redefine themselves in relation to their readers:

A poem exists only in the relation between the poet and reader.  
I'm in need of my readers, except that they never cease to write  
me as they would wish, turning their reading into another

writing that almost rubs out my features.<sup>123</sup>

In the process of redefinition, they move the 'Palestinian' from the role of an object *in* a history to the place of a subject *of* a history. This shift facilitates the crossing of boundaries integral to subverting the Zionist/Arab, master/slave relationship. The very act of writing is therefore transformed into an act of resistance whereby the tale becomes the teller, reconstructing the historical narrative.<sup>124</sup> However, the resistance is complicated by the Palestinians' simultaneous occupation of both positions, ambiguously allowing the narrators/poets to function as subject and object, tale and teller. Effectively, the ambiguity of this performance of the Palestinian narrative subverts the image 'Palestinian,' recomposing the Palestinian self and distinguishing the image from its signification.

For the new Palestinian identity, displacement is the place of identity, where the self exists in the centre-less fissure between here and there, neither entirely present, nor entirely absent. This is "the 'cloisonné' world"<sup>125</sup> of the borderland, "the crossroad of exile and exile,"<sup>126</sup> where the subject is always removed, looking through windows or doors (common themes in Palestinian poetry). Implicit in this subjectivity is the synchronous occupation of both inside and outside positions, where experience is disrupted by the fact of transgression.<sup>127</sup> The conflict between these spheres underlies the challenge to "Palestinianism," alluding to the inability to chronologically retell Palestinian histories. "No straight line leads from home to birthplace ... all progress is a digression, a residence in exile."<sup>128</sup> The creation of the borderland is an attempt to positivize the ironic condition of being "in but not of any situation."<sup>129</sup> The ambiguity of the Palestinian 'border-figure' is that it exists in an "endless temporal motion, in which past, present, and future intertwine without any fixed centre"<sup>130</sup>—translation and transformation are the only stable parts of identity.

Integral to locating identity in this border nation, or "third space,"<sup>131</sup> is the repeated performance of dispossession that provides Palestinians with a means to national commemoration, while inspiring a nostalgic longing for the perfectly preserved past which will, apparently, re-emerge on the instance of Return. As Said notes: "There seems to be nothing in the world which sustains the story;

unless you go on telling it, it will just drop and disappear.”<sup>132</sup> In fixing identity and providing continuity, despite the forces of constant transformation, Palestinians partake in “dream-cartography,”<sup>133</sup> evoking the constructed homeland image described in Part Two. One of the many examples of this phenomenon, recorded in 1981 by a Syrian film maker, is the dream of 11-year-old Faisal, living in a refugee camp in Beirut:

The way our parents tell how they left Palestine in 1948, that's exactly how I saw us ... returning to Palestine.

The exactness of the transmission of these memories is a startling testimony to the effectiveness of their repeated ‘performance’: “Palestinian children know the names of their parents’ former villages in Israel and have pretty pictures of them in their minds. A ten-year-old, Issam, said he was from Zakariya, whose site he had never visited.”<sup>134</sup>

This national remembering forms the foundation of identity for all Palestinians and its location in the primacy of childhood is focal to its self-fashioning agenda. Effectively, Palestinian children are born in the embrace of the memory of the *Nakbah*. In turn, they too are dispossessed—

The State of Israel hasn't only confiscated the land from under the feet of Palestinians in the occupied territories; it has also taken away their childhood. For twenty years now officially there has been no childhood in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The word ‘child’ is never used in military announcements ... a ten year-old boy shot by the military forces is reported to be a ‘young man of ten’.<sup>135</sup>

This loss of childhood is not limited to refugees, like Faisal, and refers to the nature of the Palestinian community as one in exile. By writing the wrongs of history, Palestinians are attempting to recapture the childhood that was stolen from them in the process of the struggle. This aspect of the resistance movement is dealt with extensively in all cultural areas; for example by artist Laila al-Shawa in her silkscreen titled *Wall of Gaza*, and by Rasim al-Madhoun in his poems *Peace Be Upon... and Family Poems*.<sup>136</sup>

The loss of childhood, and its consequent nationalization (specifically since the *Intifada*), is directly related to the position of women within Palestinian families and the general society. The Palestinian National Charter explicitly links the transmission of memories and national history with the role played by Palestinian women: "It is a national duty to bring up individual Palestinians in an Arab revolutionary manner."<sup>137</sup> Reproduction and motherhood are therefore a means of resistance for women constrained by strict laws of conduct and behavior. For example, they concentrate on maintaining a high birth rate as a weapon against the occupying force.<sup>138</sup> Poetic imagery seizes upon this stance and, according to Mai Sayigh,

in Palestinian literature the mother has always been the symbol, and played the role, of the land; strong, protective. The son leaves and returns, she is there, the recurring protection.<sup>139</sup>

The representation of women in association with the land entrenches their position as chattels within society, particularly in the more traditional, rural areas of the West Bank territories. Palestinian women living in the territories are therefore subject to (at least) a double-colonization and as a consequence, their borderland is further marginalized. Those women exposed to the influences of western societies appear to challenge, more openly, the construction of these representations which fix women within a prescribed role. Siham Da'oud's poetry presents this type of challenge.

"Hyphen, transition, mere incident"<sup>140</sup>—this is how Said perceives the position of Palestinian women. Historically invisible, they have always been omitted from the recorded history of Palestine, perpetually veiled, they are perceived as the property of first the patriarchy and then the nation. However, their presence and participation in the struggle against both the British and the Zionists has been constant—as early as 1929, the first Arab Women's Conference took place in Jerusalem, with 200 women in attendance. Their contribution to the resistance through involvement in charitable societies (predominantly in the larger middle and upper class) and later in women's unions has had a deep impression on Palestinian culture<sup>141</sup>. Some of the most interesting elements of this culture are



those produced in the privacy of the women's domain—for example women's costume and embroidery,<sup>142</sup> which became

a source of motifs in nationalist art ... part of the nationalist heritage. What was historically the dress of a particular class, linked by its designs to specific parts of the country, has become, since the dispersion of the Palestinians in 1948, symbolically the property of the nation.<sup>143</sup>

Essentially, poetry and art have allowed Palestinian women relatively more freedom to transgress the boundaries of traditional society and enter the public and political sphere, as 'Ashrawi's status reveals.

On a more general level, Palestinians—women, children, on the West Bank or elsewhere—have all been relegated to exist within the constantly shifting margins of the borderland. Conceptually, each position is distinguished by the level of essentialism utilized to propose an 'authentic' Palestinian culture. The most concentrated mass of essentialist imagery derives from the occupied territories where what have been called "local idioms,"<sup>144</sup> or "symbolic inversions,"<sup>145</sup> (like the *fellahin* {peasant}, the *kufiya* {head-dress}, the olive tree) form the basis of a Palestinian national memory and identity.<sup>146</sup> The heavy reliance on these metaphoric representations of traditional Palestinian culture conveys the isolated vacuum which has preserved Palestinian/Arab culture (this is most noticeable in the structure of West Bank society, particularly in terms of the position of women). The West Bank borderland vacuum has, in a sense, worked to erase the West Bank, creating a complex state of invisibility and refraction. In line with this idea, [Raja] Shehadeh depicts the region in terms of absence and imprisonment—an ironic marriage of contradictory states; for to be imprisoned implies a presence.

I look out into the other side, the backs of the masks, and instead of hollows, I see twin masks—the fragmented faces of our occupiers: riveted to the backs of ours in a way that ensures that we will never see each other.<sup>147</sup>

Shehadeh's description conveys the struggle facing West Bank poets, like [Fadwa] Tuqan, as they engage with notions of identity and subjectivity. Fear of extinction preoccupies the West Bank Palestinian

and is manifested most overtly in the reaffirmation of the *sumud* solidarity with the place Palestine.

However, the essentialist imagining of the West Bank poet is not a feasible alternative for Palestinians living within Israel. To accommodate their dual loyalties, they adopt a more hybrid perspective; similar to that described by Anzaldua in her analysis of the Mexican-American subjectivity.<sup>148</sup> While this positionality facilitates the expression of a wider spectrum of influences, it is an ambiguous one; for the hybrid can also signify "contamination, failure or regression."<sup>149</sup> Indeed, many describe hybridity as still operating within and supporting the old colonial binarisms (thus the criticism of Shammas and Haddad by 'Ashrawi): a resistance within given parameters.<sup>150</sup> The Palestinian-Israelis are often perceived by those in the West Bank as tainted by their proximity to and apparent collaboration with Israel and the Jews. In spite of such criticism, while dismantling narratives from within Israel, rather than writing against history from without it, Palestinian-Israeli poetry still relies on the essentialism of the occupied territories.<sup>151</sup> The difference is that this essentialism is utilized to lodge criticism and resist closure, rather than to foster nationalism.

Consequently, the role of the Palestinian-Israeli is complicated by its ambiguous position in-between two contradictory cultures and ideologies. Their hyphenated subjectivity signals the incessant stumbling over "the transition"<sup>152</sup> between cultural affiliations. While this 'place' is one that is fractured and fragmenting, it is also a position of enmeshing and weaving. Existing neither within the Palestinian nor the Israeli perspective, the always incomplete Palestinian-Israeli is forced to create a third culture—a "translational"<sup>153</sup> state - which can straddle the multiple dimensions s/he occupies. Neither entirely inside nor outside any single sphere, without any stable bank of associations or metaphors to rely on, they are constantly forced to align the opposition their very existence signifies. Thus, while they may "seem more subdued ... They are also more prickly ..."<sup>154</sup>

As Part Two's discussion of the treatment of place within each of the borderland positions revealed, the exiled Diaspora poet presents a subjectivity which fluctuates from the place of the Palestinian-Israeli to that of the Territories. The position of this poet is

complicated by the distance that physical exile places between the Palestinian and his/her homeland. The fact of this physical displacement, and the variety of cross-cultural influences it introduces, differentiates this Palestinian from those within the borders of Palestine. However, the unifying force of exile dispenses with additional analysis, for the disorder and disruption of Palestinian identity is universal:

Palestine is exile, dispossession, the inaccurate memories of one place slipping into vague memories of another. The story of Palestine cannot be told smoothly. Instead, the past like the present, offers only occurrences and coincidences - random.<sup>155</sup>

The constant movement characterizing the Palestinian experience and self is rooted in the contradictory Israeli approaches to a Palestinian presence: "Israel is the norm, Israelis are the presence ... a quasi-mythical reality."<sup>156</sup> Effectively therefore, the Palestinians are truly 'present-absentees'—caught in what has been described as the "Kafkaesque alternation between being and non-being 'there' ... whether inside Israel or in the Arab world."<sup>157</sup> The irony of this positionality is that it derives from Palestinian attempts to define themselves within the paradigm created by Israel and the west, so that for the Palestinians:

we can read ourselves against another people's pattern, but since it is not ours .. we emerge as its effects, its errata, its counter-narratives. Whenever we try to narrate ourselves, we speak as dislocations in *their* discourse.<sup>158</sup>

Within this bind of presence/absence, created by Israel's centre force, the Palestinian self struggles to actualize his/her existence—"the very act of telling, narrating ... guarantees actuality"<sup>159</sup> - and participate in the action of the present. Essentially, the fact of writing becomes focal to asserting Palestinian identity or presence. [...]

## CONCLUSION

### Approaching the Other Side

The foregoing examination of the impact of history, place and identity

on Palestinian poetry has indicated the significance of the poetic genre in expressing Palestinian cultural resistance to the Israeli occupation. As shown, the prevalence of each of these constructs within Palestinian poetry and culture engages overtly with memory and commemoration. Inevitably, the process of remembrance and historical reminiscence is central to the construction of a specifically Palestinian discourse of resistance. Despite the limitations of nostalgic recollection, this discourse enables Palestinians to dialogize the otherwise monologic tract of Western, Israeli history that has dominated historical narratives since the inception of the State of Israel in 1948. The challenge facing Palestinians is to remain *sumud* (steadfast) in their commitment to Palestine and the dream of return. As one poet has commented;

There is no shame in losing the battle. The main thing is not to give up and lay down our arms.<sup>193</sup>

In assuming this stance, Palestinian poets engage with a history of resistance and struggle. Ultimately, their writing becomes a means of authorizing alternate Palestinian experiences and inserting Palestinian narratives into the official arena of historical discourse. The inclusivity of Palestinian writing and nationalism is a direct reaction to the dominance of historical myths which are central to popular, CNN-style history. Part One, "Myth Making History," examined the pervasiveness of these mythologies, dealing specifically with the nature of Israeli society and the West's support for it. By explicating the relevant examples and issues, this section sought to emphasize the manner in which these myths have been accepted as historical fact. The acceptance of these mythical representations within the hegemonic discourse wielded by the Israelis and the Americans, marginalizes the Palestinians, removing them from the field of communication. The latter part of this section revealed how poetry was posited as a subterranean means of accessing the discourse which inherently others Palestinians, in relation to the accepted Zionist ideology.

The role played by these poetic responses has been referred to throughout the article as overwhelmingly resistant. The foundation of such resistance was shown, in Part Two, to be the construct of the

place Palestine. Epitomizing the Palestinian dream of return, the imagined "country of words" exists wholly within the paradigm of female honer and subservience. The contradictory implications of the theoretical bind of post-colonial feminism and nationalism indicates one aspect of the challenge confronting the Palestinian nation today. Trapped by the desire to advance into the 'First World,' Palestinians rely on the prevalence of traditional Motherland tropes to perpetuate the values and social structure which bind them to the Arab collective. Parts Two and Three both addressed the concept of women as the 'stable referent' for alluding to Palestinian dreams of Return. For both women and the larger Palestinian community, resistance to mythical representations has centred upon glossing Palestinian historical and social narratives. Thus the image of Palestine and the history which supports it is utilized to compose a falsely unified, national community which will, apparently, be more successful in resisting the Israeli occupation. The glossing process has led Palestinians to suppress their individual identities in favour of a collective, nationalist consciousness. Consequently, the political climate implicates their self-perception, anticipating the process of redefinition explored in Part Three. This final phase in the struggle to resist the absencing of the occupation rephrases the nature of the equation outlined by this thesis. That is, that the constructs of history - place - identity, are necessarily internalized by the poets themselves and the community they represent. Accordingly, the Palestinians assume the position of the wandering borderland, exemplifying an "open wound"<sup>194</sup> in their struggle to simply be human. By thus redefining themselves, Palestinians are able to participate in a reality outside of the discourse and representations popularized by the hegemonic discourse.

The argument presented in *Victims of a Map* (the title of this thesis) owes its integrity and substance to the contributions of the Palestinians whose writing evokes the trials and tribulations of what, for many, has been a lifetime of exile and struggle. The ultimate intention of such a thesis has been to make available the largely uncharted territory of Palestinian histories and poems to a broader spectrum of readers. While the past cannot be reversed, an in-depth understanding of the culture and character of these marginalized

peoples can facilitate a path toward a better future, on both sides of the border. Milan Kundera has noted,

the first step to liquidating a people, ... is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was. The world around it will forget even faster.<sup>195</sup>

If his observation is true, as this article has suggested, then the only way forward is to acknowledge that life exists on the other side of the borders. Upon this realization, both peoples will be able to break the cycle of bloodshed and tears that has soaked into the landscape that is both Israel and Palestine.

**Justine Saidman**

*University of New South Wales  
Sydney-Australia*

**Justine Saidman** is a recent graduate of the University of New South Wales (Sydney, Australia). In her Honors year she wrote her thesis on Palestinian poetry and the politics of representation.

3. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, (Routledge: New York and London), p.3
4. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (translated by Annette Lavers, Paladin: London, 1973)
5. Said, "Introduction" in *Blaming the Victims: spurious scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, Said and Christopher Hitchens (eds.) (Verso: London & New York, 1988) distinguishes between public opinion in Israel and the West. He uses responses to Joan Peters' controversial book to monitor this schism. An excellent overview of American public opinion is provided by Said, "The Formation of American Public Opinion on the Question of Palestine" in *Palestinian Rights: Affirmation and Denial*, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.) (Medina Press: Wilmette, Illinois, 1982). Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle* (South End Press: Boston, 1983) deals with different media representations of Israel and the Palestinians in the United States. David Bar-Illan, *Eye on the Media* (The Jerusalem Post: Jerusalem, 1983) details world coverage of Israel since 1990.
6. Donald Neff, *Warriors for Jerusalem* (Linden Press/ Simon & Schuster: New York, 1984), p.78
7. Chomsky, *The Fateful*, p.31. A recent example of Israel's immunity to criticism is an article by Ruth Wisse, "The Times Gets It Wrong," (*The Jerusalem Report*, August 8, 1996), p.60. A response to the article, by Les Yarmush (September 5, 1996), p.4, congratulates Wisse "for broaching a very sore topic - New York Times coverage of Israel."

- According to both Wisse and Yarmush, the newspaper "should be ashamed of itself" for daring to question Israeli policy in West Bank and Gaza.
8. Top military commanders have admitted that the threat of "Goliath" was a bluff and Israel expected a quick military victory in 1967.
  9. "Israel: A Nation Under Siege" (*Time*, June 9, 1967), p.16
  10. "When Israel Looks Ahead" (*US. News & World Report*, June 26, 1967 ), p.26
  11. Edward Said, *The Pen and the Sword*, (Common Courage Press: Monroe, Maine, 1994), p.23. Edward Said, "An Ideology of Difference" (*Critical Inquiry*, 12(3): 38-58, 1985) explores the question of negatively differentiating the Palestinians.
  12. Maoz Azaryahu, "From Remains to Relics: Authentic Monuments in the Israeli Landscape" (*History & Memory*, 5(2): 82-103, 1993), p.82
  1355. Anton Shammas, "Autocartography: The Case of Palestine, Michigan" in *The Geography of Identity*, Patricia Yaeger (ed.) (University of Michigan Press: Michigan, 1996), p.469
  14. Shulamith Haraven, "Israel: The First" in *The Vocabulary of Peace: life, culture and politics in the Middle East*, Shulamith Haraven ed. (Mercury House: San Fransico, 1995), p.112; Charles S. Liebman, "Myth and Tradition in Israel's Political Life" (*The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 31:3-9, 1984) agrees. Benjamin K. Kedar, "Masada: The Myth and the Complex" (*The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 24:57-63, 1982): Ironically, Masada is absent from biblical history, its history contrary to the Jewish character of the State of Israel. Robert Paine, "Masada: A History of a Memory" (*History and Anthropology*, 6(4):371-409, 1991) discusses the irony of two Masadas - I and II - which speak alternatively in the past and to the perceived present reality. The "multiple transformations of that memory" (p.372) of Masada I has created a political allegory which symbolically narrates the story of a Jewish return to Zion. Canonising such events legitimises Israel. The contradictory nature of the two Masadas alludes to the ambiguity in depictions of Israel which fluctuate from David to Goliath.
  15. Tamar Katriel, "Remaking Place: Cultural Productions in an Israeli Pioneer Museum" (*History & Memory*, 5(2): 104-135, 1993) gives an account of museums in Israel. James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 1993) details Holocaust memorials.
  16. This myth is universally practised in colonial regimes, Rob Nixon, "Refugees and homecomings" in *Travellers Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, George Robertson et al (Routledge: London & New York, 1994), p.121.
  17. Harper & Row: New York, 1984
  18. Said and Hitchens, *Blaming*, p.11
  19. Debates over the nature of this Exodus, in itself a referent mimicking the Jewish Exodus from Egypt abound (Jan Assman, "Translating Gods: Religion as a Factor in Cultural (Un)Translatability" in *The Translatability of Cultures*, Sanford Budick and Wolfgang Iser (eds.), University of Stanford Press: Stanford, 1996, p.29). Central is the issue of the broadcasts which Arab leaders purportedly issued, advising

- Palestinians to flee; Erskine B. Childers, "The Other Exodus" in *The Arab-Israel Reader*, Walter Lacqueur (ed.) (Penguin Books: England, 1967, pp.179-188); "The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees" in *The Transformation of Palestine*, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.) (Northwestern University Press: Evanston, 1971, pp.165-202); Hal Draper, "The Origins of the Middle East Crisis" in *The Arab-Israel, Lacqueur* (ed.) (pp.340-355); Christopher Hitchens, "Broadcasts" in *Blaming*, Said and Hitchens (eds.) (pp.73-83) disclaim these broadcasts. Michael Curtis et al (eds.), *The Palestinians: People, History, Politics* (Transaction Books: New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1975) claim they did occur. The most comprehensive account in is given by Benny Morris, *The Birth Of the Palestine Refugee Problem* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1987). Norman G. Finkelstein, *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict* (Verso: London & New York, 1995) claims that even Morris covers the expulsions and massacres with inaccuracy. Poetry dealing with these events include; Samih al-Qasim, *After the Apocalypse* and Sulafa Hijawi, *Death Sentence. Anthology*, pp.9,11
20. The Irgun and the Stern Gang were Jewish extremist groups, led by Menachim Begin and Yitzhak Shamir respectively. They were responsible for the massacre at Deir Yassin. The Haganah was the military arm of the Jewish community in Palestine (the Yishuv), headed by David Ben Gurion.
  21. Israel Shahak, "Stern Gang and Hitler" (*Guardian*, March 22, 1992)
  22. Shipler, "Israel Bars Rabin from Relating '48 Eviction of Arabs" (*New York Times*, October 23, 1979)
  23. Benny Morris, "The New Historiography: Israel and its Past" in *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians*, Benny Morris (ed.) (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1990), p.4
  24. Ted Swedenburg, *Memoirs of Revolt: The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past* (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1995) points out that the Palestinians themselves contribute to this imagining by stressing the "golden tones"(25) of their history. Treatment of martyrs fits in with this.
  25. Mark Helprin, "American Jews and Israel: Seizing a New Opportunity" (*New York Times Magazine*, Nov.'7, 1982)
  26. "Arabia Decepta" (*Time*, July 14, 1967), p.26
  27. Shohat and Stam, *Eurocentrism*, detail the influence of cinema in shaping such representations. They emphasise visual misrepresentation and mythology. For example, in films, Israeli actors are used to portray Arab terrorists. They locate news programmes in the genre of cinema, examining specifically CNN's treatment of the Gulf War. See also Bob Hodge, "Language and War: Orientalism in the 'Mother of Battles'" (*SPAN*, May 1992, 33: 27-38)
  28. Scott Atran, "Stones against the Iron Fist, Terror within the Nation: Alienating Structures of Violence and Cultural Identity in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," (*Politics & Society*, 8(4) 1990), p.495. 67n
  29. Issa Nakhleh, *Encyclopaedia of the Palestine Problem*. Vol. 1 (Intercontinental Books: New York, 1991), p.61
  30. Swedenburg, *Memoirs*, deals extensively with the manner in which this tendency toward a national memory was founded. Through the



- recollections of men who participated in the 1936-1939 Revolt he reconstructs the omissions resulting from the passing of time or the process of wilful forgetting inspired by nationalistic aspirations.
31. David K. Shipler, *Arab and Jew* (Penguin Books: New York, 1986), p.59
  32. Walter Rodgers (CNN broadcast, 28 August, 1996), reported the difficulties facing Palestinian journalists as a result of the restrictions placed on their movement and reportage. Such restrictions are as much a facet of the Israeli government as they are of the Palestinian Authority. An interview with an *Al-Quds* (a Jerusalem based Arabic newspaper) journalist revealed that Palestinian media functions with 40% freedom, and is forced to exclude articles criticising either Yasir Arafat or the P.L.O. Furthermore, journalists are 'encouraged' to feature Arafat on the front page of their newspapers!
  33. Said, *Blaming*, p.5
  34. Fouad Moughrabi, "The Birth of Israel: The New Revisionism" (*Radical History Review*, 45, 1989), p.71; Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *The Transformation*; Rashid Khalidi, "Contrasting Narratives of Palestinian Identity" in *The Geography*, Yaeger (ed.) (pp.187-222)
  35. Alfred Arteaga, *An Other Tongue: Nation and Ethnicity in the Linguistic Borderlands* (Duke University Press: Durham and London, 1994), p.14 I use 'histories' to imply polysemic, polyphonic narrative that deny the grip of dominant and linear discourse.
  36. Swedenburg, *Memories*, p.19
  37. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Foreward to Fadwa Tuqan, *A Mountainous Journey: A Poet's Autobiography* (Graywolf Press: Minnesota), p.ix
  38. Darwish, *Al Karmel*, no. 47,(1993, p.140 cited in Mahmoud Darwish, *Memory for Forgetfulness: August 1982*, translated by Ibrahim Muhawi, University of California Press: Berkeley, California, 1995), p.xxvii
  53. From Mahmoud Darwish, *Promises from the Storm*. Storm were the Fatah troops of the *fedayeen* (guerrilla fighters). *Anthology*, p.26
  54. The complex nature of the poem does not permit extensive analysis in this forum. Consequently it has been utilised specifically for the manner in which it contributes to the current argument. Issues of women and place are recognised as poignant, but absent from the discussion. *Anthology*, p.27.
  55. David McDowall, *The Palestinians* (Minority Rights Publications: London, 1994), p.50
  56. Said, "Edward Said: The Voice of a Palestinian in Exile" (*Third Text*, 3 (4), 1988: 39-50)
  57. From Mahmoud Darwish, *We Travel Like Other People*, *Anthology*, p.35
  58. Mahmoud Darwish, *Give Birth to Me Again That I May Know*, *Ibid*, p.36
  3579. Shammas, interview in Smadar Lavie, "Blow Ups in the Borderzones," (*New Formations*, 18: 84-106), p.85
  60. Elisha Efrat, *Geography and Politics in Israel Since 1967* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd: London, 1988), p.5
  61. Barbara Harlow, "Sites of Struggle: Immigration, Deportation, Prison and Exile" in *Reconfigured Spheres: Feminist Explorations of Literary Space*, Margaret R. Higonnet and Joan Templeton Eds. (University of Massachusetts Press: Massachusetts, 1994), p.13. For example see the map presented by David Cohen Ed., *A Day in the Life of Israel* (Collins

- Publishers: San Francisco, 1994).
62. Daphna Golan, "Between Universalism and Particularism: The 'Border' in Israeli Discourse" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, 94(4), 1995), p.1062
  63. David Grossman, *The Yellow Wind* (translated by Haim Watzman, Dell Publishing: New York, 1987) and Raja Shehadeh, *SAMED: Journal of a West Bank Palestinian* (Adama Books: New York, 1984) both refer to the absurdity of occupation.
  64. Haraven, "The First," p.105
  6358. Dan Horowitz, "Israel and Occupation" (*The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 1987, 43), p.21
  66. Swedenburg, *Memories*, p.3
  3587. Madan Sarup, "Home and Identity" in *Travellers Tales*, Robertson et al, p.99
  3588. The small percentage of Palestinian-Israeli's who live in the Northern Negev Desert, are mainly Bedouins.
  3589. Shammas, cited in Lavie, "Blow Ups," p.93
  70. Shammas in "An Arab Voice In Israel," Gerald Marzorati (*New York Times Magazine*, September 18, 1988), p.108
  71. Compare his "Ideology" and *After*
  72. Paul Gilroy, "Route Work: The Black Atlantic and the Politics of Exile" in *The Post-Colonial Question*, Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (eds.) (Routledge: London & New York, 1996), p.23
  73. Darwish, *Memory*, p.45
  74. Ibid, p.49
  75. Paul Carter, *The Lie of the Land* (Faber and Faber, London, 1996) p.6
  76. Carter and David Malouf, "Spatial History" (*Textual Practice*, 3(2), 1989) p.173
  77. Moshe Dayan, Ha'aretz, April 4, 1969, cited in Said, *The Question of Palestine* (Vintage: London, 1992), p.14
  78. Swedenburg, *Memories*, pp.38-43 accounts for the elisions at Acre Prison. Ibrahim Tuqan's poem Red Tuesday memorializes this experience. A copy of this poem could not be found.
  79. For an insight into these cults see Meron Benevisti, *Conflicts and Contradictions* (Villant Books: New York, 1986)
  80. Grossman, *Sleeping on a Wire: Conversations with Palestinians* (translated by Haim Watzman, Jonathan Cape: London, 1993), p.17
  81. Both Carter and Malouf refer to the idea of "Spatial History" in relation to the settlement of Australian land, in their article of the same name.
  82. Shehadeh, *SAMED*, p.86
  83. Tuqan, *Journey*; p.13
  84. Swedenburg, *Memories*, p.71
  85. Cited in Halim Barakat, *The Arab World* (University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1993), p.58
  86. Tad Szulc, "Who Are the Palestinians?" (*National Geographic*, June 1992, p.84). The nations occupying the region include the Egyptians (1480-1350B.C., 223-200B.C., 1291-1517B.C.), the Romans (63B.C.-614A.D., 628-638A.D.), the Arabs (638-1085A.D., 1099-1291A.D.), the Turks (1517-1918A.D.), and the Jews (100-586B.C., 142-70B.C., 1948-).
  87. Yehuda Amichai, *Jerusalem*, 1967 (*Yehuda Amichai, Selected Poems*,

- Penguin Books, London, 1988), p.47.
118. From Mahmoud Darwish, *We Are Here Near There*, Anthology, p.47
119. Swedenburg, *Memories*, p.xxvi. Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg (eds.), *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity* (Duke University Press: Durham & London, 1996). Gabriel Motzkin, "Memory and Cultural Translation" in *The Translatability*, Budick and Iser (eds.), p.270 comments that the same trend is visible in Jewish cultural assertions.
120. Said, "Ideology"
121. Said, *After*, p.6
122. Said, *The Pen*, p.50
123. Darwish, *Al Karmel*, no. 47 (1993): 140, cited in Darwish, *Memory*, p.xxvii
124. The dichotomy of tale/teller is established by Anton Shammas in the structure of his semi-autobiographical novel, *Arabesques* (translated from Hebrew by Vivian Eden, Harper & Row: New York, 1988)
125. Janet Abu-Lughod, referring to the entirely local, in "The Space of Culture; The Power of Space," Lawrence Grossberg (*Question*, Chambers Ed.), p.172. It is an ambiguous term - Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Woman, Native, Other: Pratibha Parmar interview Trinh T. Minh-ha" (*Feminist Review*, 36, 1990), p.69 views border crossing as impure.
126. Mureed Barghouthy, *I Run toward You ... I Run with You*, *Anthology*, p.48
127. Said, *After* deals extensively with this issue as it pertains to the Palestinians.
128. Ibid, p.20. Khalidi, "Arab Nationalism," p.187
129. Said, "On Palestinian Identity," p.112
130. Ibid, p.119
131. Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," in *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (ed.) (1994, Routledge: London & New York), pp.36-39
132. Edward Said, "On Palestinian Identity: A Conversation with Salman Rushdie," in Said ed. *The Politics of Dispossession* (Chatto and Windus: London, 1994), p.108
133. Shammas, "The Art of Forgetting" (New York Times Magazine, December 26, 1993), p.33. Faisal's story is quoted by Shammas.
134. Shipler, *Arab and Jew*, p. 56.
135. Shammas, "A Stone's Throw" (New York Review of Books, 31 March, 1988), p.10. Graham Usher, "Children of Palestine" (*Race & Class*, 1991, 4: 1-18) notes this phenomenon in relation to the Intifadah.
136. Anthology, pp.49,50
137. Palestine National Covenant, Article 7 cited in Julian Becker, *The PLO* (St. Martins Press: New York, 1984), p.230
138. Although this cannot be extricated from the context of the patriarchal society and significantly, it is predominantly men of lower-class, camp women who express this sentiment.
139. Antonius, "Fighting," p.67 For more on Mai Sayigh, see Kavar, *Daughters*
140. Said, *After*, p.77
141. Kavar, *Daughters*. It was only in the period of the second generation in exile that Palestinian women took a more active role in the public aspects

- of the resistance. In 1963, the Palestinian Women's League was founded and in 1965 the Palestine Women's Union and the General Union of Palestinian Women was formed. Each of these organisations were led by women who were overtly nationalist. Nevertheless, Fatah did not officially allow women into its ranks until 1970.
142. A recent exhibition at the Powerhouse Museum, titled *Portraits Without Names: Palestinian Costume* displayed a selection of Palestinian women's costumes.
  143. Browne, *Images*, p.140.
  144. Swedenburg, *Memories*, p.78
  145. Ibid, p.33
  146. Many of these symbols have since been utilised in Zionist discourse to signify Palestinian primitiveness - like "(f)emale Arab dress ... represented both as a symbol of oppression and as a practical response to the rigours of the desert climate"(Vron Ware, "Defining Forces: 'Race,' Gender and Memories of Empire" in *Question*, Chambers and Curti Eds., p.154)
  147. Shehadeh, *SAMED*, p.138
  148. Glorai Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (Spinsters/Aunt Lute Book Company: San Francisco, 1987). Jan M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire* (Routledge: London & New York, 1996), p.28 defines hybridity as the "dialogic dynamic in which certain elements of dominant cultures are appropriated by the colonised and rearticulated in subversive ways."
  149. Nikos Papastergiadis, "Restless Hybrids" (*Third Text*, 32, 1995), p.9
  150. Judy Purdom, "Mapping Difference" (*Third Text*, 32, 1995), p.22
  151. For Tiffin, resistance operates within the semiology of the already functioning central paradigm and is therefore unable to subvert it.
  152. Chambers, *Question*, p.53
  153. Bhabha, "Unpacking my Library Again," in *Question*, Chambers and Curti (eds.), p.200
  154. Minns and Hijab, *Citizens*, p.ix
  155. Said, "Edward Said: The Voice," p.50
  156. Said, *Palestine*, p.36
  157. Ibid, p.153. The title 'present-absentee' comes from the 1950 Absentees Property Law, passed by the Knesset (Israeli Government) to administer abandoned Arab territory and enable the selling of land to Israeli institutions; predominantly the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and kibbutzim. This law defined the absentee and in turn created the 'present-absentee' who suffered the confiscation of property despite residing within Israel, as legal residents. Palestinians in this category number about 81,000, half of the 160,000 Arabs in Israel in 1949.
  158. Said, *After*, p.140
  159. Halim Barakat, *Days of Dusk* (translated by Trevor LeGassick, Three Continents Press: Washington), p.xx
  193. Tuqan, *Journey*, p.11
  194. Anzaldúa, *La Frontera*, p.3
  195. Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (Faber & Faber: London, 1992), p.159

HAGIEM INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF ART 1998 festival international des arts plastiques de bagdad

ART FOR HUMANITY  
[en pour l'humanité]

The French translation of Wahid Masud is out,  
 & you may have got your copy by this time (at  
 my suggestion to the Publisher).

As I am looking forward eagerly to your coming, there's so much to talk about. So, until we meet in Baghdad, warmest wishes to you and the family.

As I am looking forward eagerly to your coming, there's so much to talk about. So, until we meet in Baghdad, warmest wishes to you and the family.

"They are indeed a treasure that I cherish very much."—Roger Allen

My dear Roger,

**Letters from Jabra I. Jabra to Roger Allen  
1980-1994**

49 Hill Street,  
London, W.1.  
15th April, 1980

Dear Roger,

We've been here in London for a whole month and shall remain for another 10 days—we fly back on the 15th. I've been working on the "Arabization" of the dialogue of "Omar Mukhtar," a 3 -hour long film made by Mustafa al Akkad and what a powerful film it is, too.

I was delighted to know that you'd also made a good progress in translating Valid Masoud. As you say, it certainly is much more of a challenge than The Ship, and I hope you'll find the effort intellectually rewarding. Please note the references to Purcell's Suites for Harpsichord and Monteverdi's Magnificat for 6 voices. Knowing your taste in music I am sure you've got recordings of both works—and you may have often played the Purcell on a piano. Or do you play the harpsichord too? The music you sent me is a constant delight: I play it in my study and also in my car as I drive.

Whenever you publish any of your writing on Arabic Literature, I'd be most grateful for a Xerox copy. I'd be similarly grateful for any thing published by Adnan.

Any luck with Three Continents Press? I have yet to see Kamal Abu Deeb. Although I'd promised I'd go to Yarmouk University to give a lecture, I've been unable to go-but I managed to go to Beirut last February to give a lecture on the Art of the Novel. I had not seen Beirut for five years. What a fantastic city. I spent 12 memorable days in it- and gave no less than 7 or 8 interviews to the press in spite of all my subterfuge to avoid journalists.

I trust you and Adnan will not be much deterred by exams and paper-writing and conferences from carrying on with the translation of Walid Masoud. More strength to your arms!

My very best wishes to you and Adnan.

Yours sincerely,

Jabra

Baghdad, Iraq  
Nov.16th, 1981

My dear Roger,

Your letter of Oct. 3rd came yesterday[...]

I shall be looking forward to receiving your translation of the first 2 chapters of Walid Masoud. We have to make a supreme effort to have the English version come out soon after The Ship. Have you received عالم بلا خرائط? I sent you and Adnan a copy each—for your pleasure. It is causing a furor all over the Arab World. Everybody is trying to guess who wrote what in it and Abdul Rahman ( whom I saw in Paris again 5 weeks ago ) and I are laughing up our sleeves: everybody is guessing wrong....

I've been invited again ( as I couldn't make it last March ) to deliver the Annual Distinguished Lecture at Georgetown University late next March.

I hope to spend a couple of weeks in Washington then—we might meet, if I am lucky.

I have been very busy, as usual. If I were to respond to every invitation I get I would spend most of my time abroad, which is absurd.

Do you think Adnan at Amherst will have more time now to devote to Walid Masoud . Please ask him to write to me: I have not heard from him for ages, and I don't know his new address.

My translation of Shakespear's Sonnets ( 40 of them ) came out in Beirut 3 months ago—but I simply have no copies to send you, as all importation of books has ceased temporarily.

I am working on a new novel and on an ambitious script for a long feature film on the Battle of Yarmouk ( A.D 636). Waiting to have time to work on two other books. Also waiting for your second record of music which seems to have the kind of music I love.

Best wishes as ever,  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad, Iraq

Dear Roger,

It's good to hear from you, after all these months, and to know that you've translated seven chapters from Walid Mas'ud. It's a pity Adnan has been so busy. I shall write to him separately. Have you come to any sort of agreement about the translation of Walid Mas'ud with Dr. Jayusi ( for her " Prota")? Donald Herdeck says that The Ship has now been accepted by Heinemann for the Arab writers series: does that mean that there will now be a British edition together with the American 3 Continent edition or what?

I read a review in the Times Literary Supplement of your



book on the Arabic novel. I wish I can get a copy . Perhaps when I go to London next time although I don't know when that will be.

عالم بلا خرائط which I wrote in collaboration with Abdul Rahman Munif is out in Beirut. As soon as we get copies of it in Baghdad I shall dispatch you one.

Al-Nihayat by Munif would be a good novel to translate, and I am sure he will be very pleased to know that you want to translate it. I shall write to him in a day or two, but in the meantime here is his address ( he lives in Paris now ):

10 Rue de la belle feuille

Boulogne, Billancourt

France.

His home telephone number there is 605 44 15

Your gramophone record sounds most exciting. Keep one for me until I see you. I still enjoy the cassette you sent me 3 years ago ( God, how time flies!)

My 3rd collection of poems *لوعة الشمس* in its second edition, won an international prize in Leipzig: then in Beirut, for design and printing. By the end of the month my translation of Shakespeare's Sonnets ( 40 of them ) will be out in Beirut, also very attractively got up , with drawings by Iraqi artist Rakan Dabdoub. New editions of my books are coming out in rapid succession.

Have you seen the art magazine *فنون عربية* of which I am editor-in-chief, which is printed in London? I am now working with دار واسط ( Wasit Publishing House, London) in establishing a Baghdad branch which will soon launch a number of ambitious books.

My very best wishes to you, to the family and to Adnan and his family. And a happy new year to you all!

Yours ever,  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour

Baghdad, Iraq

6th Feb.,1983

Dear Roger,

Just a word to thank you for sending me your excellent book "The Arabic Novel" and to tell you how I've read it in no time and enjoyed it immensely . Extremely well documented, it is also very knowledgeable and stimulating. You've done the Arabic Novel a great service: you've given it a clear-sighted perspective together with a lot of penetrating analysis. It certainly is one of the best books written on the subject, whether in English or in Arabic, and I am sure the future student of the Arabic novel can never do without it-except at his peril! Don't be surprised : if you suddenly find somebody has already begun to translate it into Arabic for some publishers in Beirut.

Have you written to, or heard from , Abdul Rahman Munif? After writing to you I wrote to him and gave him your address. It is unfortunate that up to this moment we have not received in Baghdad the bulk of عالم بلا خرائط—I would have liked so much to send you a copy. Perhaps you could order it for your library[...]

As soon as I have more copies than one, I'll dispatch you one!

Any firm news about the publication of The Ship? Any further news about your progress in Walid Masoud? When you've read World Without Maps I should be very happy to know what you think of it. At the moment I am struggling with my new novel.

Please remember me to dear Adnan.

Best regards, and thank you again for your delightful love.

Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad, Iraq  
January 2, 1984

Dear Roger,

[...] It would gladden me to know of your progress in translating Walid Masoud. You seem to've done most of your share: it's now up to dear Adnan to do his. I admit that the cassette fit in Chapter One is not at all easy. But now that you have read so much of my work, I trust there would be enough clues at your disposal to help you along! In any case, I am willing to help. Now that Adnan has gone to Amherst, I don't have his address. Would you kindly send it to me. I want to write him a long letter.

Thank you so much for your beautiful record " Music at St. Mary's 1983" which arrived safe and sound. Excellent performance all around! You have not missed your vocation, by any chance, Roger? To be an organist and an Arabist—a wonderful and most unexpected combination. And the music is the kind I simply love. I hope one day to hear you, in the flesh, as it were.

I have actually been asked to attend مهرجان الإبداع in Cairo, but the date conflicts with my lecture date at Georgetown University. There is a very slim chance that I may stay long enough in the States to be able to lecture at one or two other places, but it is not certain.

It is distressing that The Ship is taking so long in being published. Let us hope Walid Masoud will have better luck.

Best wishes for a happy and productive new year, and may your books increase and multiply!

Yours ever,  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour

Baghdad, Iraq

May 28th, 1984

My dear Roger,

Your beautiful cassette arrived while I was in the midst of the laborious task of making a fair copy of my last fictional effort . I played it immediately—much more than once!—and it relieved ( and still relieves ) a lot of the agony of writing. It's an excellent "anthology "—I have most of the various pieces on a variety of records, but it is a pleasure to have them all, in such a wonderful succession, on one handy cassette. How lucky you are with this divine gift of yours!

My memory of those wonderful days in Cairo is as happy as yours. As usual, our personal discussions were the best part of it. Pity Adnan was not there .

So The Ship is being, at long last, typesetted. A Spanish scholar, Marcellino Villegas, who recently got his Doctorate from Madrid for his 1000 page dissertation in the Iraqi novel from 1945-980 (one third of it being on my novels and short stories), has asked me to send him at least a photo of the cover of the English translation of The Ship, to show it to prospective Spanish publishers as a proof that the novel is worth translating into Spanish! Anyway, I promised to send him a copy as soon as it was out, and he has already started his translation of it.

My new work is a novella: a mere 25,000 words or a little less. I think I told you about it. I've now finalized it , and a certain weekly magazine published in London, has already bought it from me for serialization in 8 parts, then for publication in book form. It is a surrealist novel—a sort of black comedy, which runs non-stop from beginning to end. You know, when I left Cairo, I had an enormous stack of conference papers and books which would have added a lot of excess weight to my baggage. So I left it *all* in the hotel! Now I want a copy of your paper on the novella. I want to see if your theory

applies to "The Other Rooms" or to my very first serious fiction effort. Could you please airmail me one?

Dr. Mounif would be pleased to know of your progress with translating النهايات, despite the difficulties. With luck, I should be in Paris in mid July to attend a UNESCO Conference on Palestinian Literature and Heritage. Dr. Mounif and I will then compare notes on our progress. But against my 160 page novella he has finished a stupendous 500 page مदन الملح novel and is now writing the second part of it.

Very soon I shall begin preparing my new book of essays and interviews (mostly published in the last 5 or 6 years). No title yet[...]

مع أجمل التحيات

Yours ever,

Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour

Baghdad

Jan 11, 1986

My dear Roger,

I've just received your delightful Xmas letter—what a joy it must have been to attend the midnight Mass in the company of Bach, Telemann and Adolphe Adam. I made do with the cassettes of Bach's Xmas Oratoria and my ever-favorite Messiah-Handel never seems to pall for me. (I've even now listening, as I write, to his Tamarlano. Other favorites of mine nowadays are his Hercules and La Resurrezion.

Adnan was here for the Marbid Festival. It was a pity you couldn't come—better luck next time. He said he had at last nearly completed the translation of his part of Walid Masoud.

In the last 2 weeks, for the first time in a whole year, I felt free from obligation enough to be able to sit down and

revise, seriously, the chapters you sent me. I've finished the first chapter . God how difficult it must have been to translate. I'm not quite happy with it yet, but at least I have worked on it.

Unfortunately, having started work on your chapter (the 2nd), I had to stop: I'm leaving tomorrow for Tunis and Cairo for about 3 weeks. By mid-February, I hope to go back to the rest of your text. So let us hope your work, your wonderful effort , has not been in vain . Let us keep together—until we see it through! يعون الله .

الغرف الأخرى at last is being reprinted here. I Shall send you a copy. Some excellent reviews have come out.

What happened to Hunters? I was hoping to receive a copy of the new edition—but so far no news from the 3 Continents Press.

As you're negotiating with Zulfa Hourani about Endings, why not suggest also to her The Ship for a British edition ? I've heard some very flattering comments from European and American friends about it.

I wish you a very happy and productive 1987 !

Yours ever,  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad  
13.3.86

Dear Roger,

I am very pleased to hear you have agreed to write an introduction to the new edition of Hunters In a Narrow Street, to be published later this year by Don Herdeck. Norman Ware has written to me this and to say also that they've sent me a contract on Hunters—which so far I have not received. If it was sent by

surface mail it might take up to 4 months (or more!) in arriving.

I suppose you know Athlone is waiting for a copy of your (and Adnan's) translation of Walid Masoud. I've given them my provisional consent and asked them to come to an agreement with yourself and Adnan. What is the position exactly?

Is there a complete translation ready for a publisher's consideration? I don't know much about Athlone (of 44 Bedford Road, London): are they of any particular significance as publishers? You must see that a) you deal with more or less firstclass publishers and that b) you get *good* terms from them. Quartet Books approached me here -verbally- through one of their employees (Miss Hourani) regarding Waild Masoud: I hope to be in London for a week late this month, and I may see what sort of offer they can make. At the same time Salma made a sort of bid for the book for Protas. Don Herdeck's view, when he was here, was that other publishers may offer better terms than he and that we should try them first: he was willing to be our last resort ! (These were his very words.)

Norman Ware tells me in his letter that The Ship is being very well received. Of course you and Adnan have done a magnificent job and I do hope you'll be reasonably rewarded for your labours however much of a labour of love they may have been. My مجلّة التضامن has yet to be serialized by الفرف الأخرى which bought it about two years ago for a good sum. Their delay has made me very angry, because I want to see it come out in book form, and I can't very well wait ad infinitum until the Editor makes up his mind....I've practically completed my childhood memoirs البنر الأولى all they need is a few last touches. I'm off in 3 days to Paris, London & Rome—for about 25 days.

Incidentally I never received your paper on the Novella.

Until I hear from you, all the best

مع أجمل تحياتي

Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad  
June 7, 1986

My dear Roger

I trust you'll get this letter before your departure for England. My week (Easter and after ) in London was not very exciting this time. My ten days in Paris before that were much better: I spent most of the time with Munif. But my week in Rome at the end of the journey was most enjoyable.

Your letter arrived (late as usual) after my return with a lot of good news. You probably know that Husna published her translation of your chapter on Rijal fil Shams and As-Safina in the last issue of الكامل and it has been extremely well received. I believe the book is coming out soon in Beirut. Meanwhile, my الفن والفن الأخرى was published in Beirut by my publisher without my prior sanction—it was supposed to be serialized first in مجلة التضامن which has caused me a lot of embarrassment with the magazine's editor. Of course, we shan't see it in Baghdad, and so I'm making arrangements for having it re-published here. It's one of the best things I've written, despite its novella form. Today I'm waiting for الفن والفن والفن—I hope it won't take years in arriving!

You've been great, Roger, with so much effort generously given to my work. It's a pity Adnan has been too busy[...] the last year or two—which has delayed the completion of your joint translation of Walid Mas'ud . I know the work is not at all rewarding materially, But morally, intellectually, I trust you regard it rewarding enough to make you want to carry on with it.

Ladislav Drozdik, a Slovak Arabist living in Bratislava has just published his Slovak translation of selections from my poems in a handsome book, and his complete translation of



عالم بلا خرائط is coming out later this year. I've never met the man, but he got to know my books and we're now great friends. He is a first-class scholar, having already translated مقدمة ابن خلدون and طوق الحمامة لابن حزم, apart from much modern Arabic poetry and fiction.

I've just completed البئر الأولى: فصول من سيرة ذاتية. The Pristine Well is actually memoirs of my childhood ( up to the age of 12); I may write—if I have the energy, about my adolescence and university years at Cambridge another volume. But already an idea for a new novel is beginning to take shape in my mind, which might seduce me into leaving aside everything else. But nothing is certain.

Please write.

All the best.

Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad  
August 8th, 1986

My dear Roger,

I received your letter of June 24th some time ago, but I waited until you'd had your holiday in England before answering. I trust you're back now, refreshed and with replenished energy for another (gruelling?) academic year—let alone for some more excellent translations.

As you guessed, I never got a copy of the first four chapters of Masoud. Other books were sent to me this year, which I never got also. I don't know what is happening to our postal services. Anyway, what matters most is that both you and Adnan are actually trying to complete the translation. And I

look forward to anything that you may send.

I am delighted you've written an introduction to Hunters in its new edition. In the Arab World the Arabic translation is *still* enjoying great popularity. I wonder what it'll sound like in the U.S. or Britain a quarter of a century after its first appearance. Did I tell you that it is being translated into Spanish in Madrid by a lady who is working on my writings for a Doctorate? The Ship , meanwhile, is coming out in its Spanish translation in Madrid soon. The translator, Marcellino Villegas, got his Doctorate on a huge thesis he wrote on three Iraqi novelists—myself included ( my novels got the lion's share of it). Very soon a Slovak translation of *عالم بلا خرائط* will be coming out in Bratislava, done by an excellent Slovak scholar whom you may know, Ladislav Drozdick. He translated a selection he made of my poems from *المدار المغلق* and *توز في المدينة* which came out 3 months ago in an attractive hand-bound book, also in Bratislava.

I've just finished writing a paper entitled " Calligraphy and Modern Art in the Arab World," which I am supposed to read at the next Congress in Lisbon of the International Association of Art Critics (AICA). I am leaving at the end of August for Lisbon until around 10th Sept. After a week in Paris with Mounif I should be back in Baghdad around the 20th.

I am suggesting your name ( again ! ) and that of Adnan to the Madrid Festival Committee with the hope that it will extend invitations to you both to attend the Festival in Baghdad as from November 25th—that is , if you can make it. Don't depend too much on it—but it might happen !

Have you received *الفن والحلم والفعل* ? Please let me know.

With my warmest wishes,

Yours Sincerely,  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad  
November 15, 1986

My dear Roger,

I was hoping you'd be able to come to Baghdad for the Mirbad Festival due to begin on the 22nd, but it looks as if you cannot come. I had given your name to the organizing committee together with Adnan's ( and others ). I believe Adnan is coming, which would give me occasion for rejoicing at least in one of you materializing in Baghdad after all these months, nay, years. I haven't seen Adnan since our New York re-union wayback in 1979.

As you probably know I was away for some time in Lisbon and Paris, and shall soon be leaving for Cairo for a week or two. In the meantime I've been very busy with the Baghdad International Festival of Art—which proved a fantastic success. The Mirbad Festival will keep me equally busy until the end of November, after which I go to Egypt. What I want to say is that your translation has been on my desk for weeks, and I have yet to have the time to go through it. (I've had to revise the translations of two books on literary criticism—a horrid and thankless chore—which was yet another cause for my neglect.) Having looked at it now, and read some of it—some pages are atrociously photocopied !) I find you've done a *very difficult* job indeed. But a lot of it needs revision, unfortunately, one way or another . One day, when I can really get rid of my chores and time-consuming responsibilities, I shall begin to work on it. I never seem to have enough time - and my health is not quite what it used to be: It looks as if you still have a lot to do on the translation. I do hope Athlone will not have lost their interest by the time the book is ready for them to see.

I don't have a copy of *الغرف الأخرى* to send you—the Beirut edition is not available in Baghdad, and my Baghdad publisher, for some reason, keeps procrastinating . As soon as it comes out here, I shall dispatch you a copy. It is one of the best things I

have written , and I am sure you'll agree when you've read it .

Random House ( of New York ) saw a translation of a part of Mounif's Cities of Salt ( twelve thousand five hundred dollars ) on his anticipated royalties! That is what I call publishing ! Of course this novel would interest Americans in a special way as it presents them with the other side of the picture of the "blessings" their oil companies brought to Arabia. Have you by any chance read the first 2 volumes? The third should be out early next year.

I am waiting for the new edition of Hunters in a Narrow Street —and may I express in advance my profound thanks for your excellent introduction.

Have you made any progress on Mounif's النهائيات? The Slovak translation of عالم بلا خرائط is coming out in Czechoslovakia early next year. The Spanish translation of the The Ship is supposed to be coming out at the same time in Madrid.

The memoirs of my childhood, entitled البشر الأولى: فصول من سيرة ذاتية is at last with the ( Arab ) Publisher in London— we hope it will see the light before next March in a hardback jacketed edition. It is a book I cherish especially—some of it has already been translated into French and into Spanish, in anticipation of the complete book. I trust there will also be an English translation. It covers the period of my life from the age of 5 to 12, in Bethlehem of the mid and late twenties and early thirties ( from 1925-1932).

In the midst of all this, for real relaxation— and to entertain my dear granddaughter Deema—I've just completed the translation of 52 fables from Jean de La Fontaine into a sort of Arabic free verse. The publisher here is waiting for them, but I want to write an introduction on La Fontaine and Aesop—my next job. Or rather , next job but one. Because I must in the next 4 or 5 days write a paper on " Poetry and The Novel . Pray for me as you play wonderful Bach on the organ of your church!

With love, as ever,

Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour

Baghdad

Sept 16, 1987

My dear Roger,

Delighted to hear from you, at last, and am so glad you got the First Well—*الغرف الأولى* after *البشر الأولى*. I hope you'll have the time to read the First Well—in which I stop at the age of 12. It is so difficult to write a really good honest autobiography—especially when all you can rely on is your own memory. No papers, no letters, not even people with whom you can check on persons and events. Nevertheless it was a very enjoyable thing to write. I hope I'll have the will and the stamina to go with it. Following an easier course, I've started something entitled tentatively *حكايات من سيرة ذاتية*—in which I write about odd events in my life which seem to haunt me still. I've also started what I hope will be my next novel—with fear and trembling, but with delicious excitement also, I progress, however slowly....

I should write to Adnan to offer my condolences, but I seem to have mislaid his address. In Baghdad last November he told me he was getting married to Paula—and I said that should help him to settle down and have enough peace of mind to do his good work. Having revised the Waleed's "tape," I shall be doing the rest of your translation. But—work, work, work... After my selected Fables from La Fontaine *حكايات مختارة من لافونتين*, a new glossy coffee-table book has just been published here, by Ihsan Fathi and myself: *بغداد بين الأمس واليوم*. I shall send you a copy.

I was supposed to be these days in Madrid for the Art Critics Congress, but plans went a bit awry...Last April The Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences gave me its golden annual award for *الفنون والآداب* in the Arab World. The Institut du Monde Arabe *معهد العالم العربي* in Paris has signed a contract with me for the publication of Waleed Masoud, which is being translated there into French. The Ship is also being

translated in Paris, presumably for Minuit. A young Palestinian has just written a Doctorate thesis on my fiction (at Illinois University of Indiana); a Moroccan graduate has just got his M.A. on his structuralist thesis on Waleed Masoud, entitled: البينة والدلالة في رواية البحث عن وليد مسعود. Two years ago an adventurous dramatic group in Tunis turned Waleed's "Tape" into a play with which they opened the 1985 Carthage Dramatic Festival. Waleed Masoud is literally almost everywhere in the Arab World. As for The Other Rooms, reviews have been fantastic. There are now 3 editions of it : Beiruti, Baghdadi and Tunisian. (Cairo's Dar al Hilal suggested they would like to publish it, but I declined.)

Meanwhile, music helps me carry on. Esp. Handel's operas ( apart from everything else by him ), etc. From Paris last year I got some Dowland and some Tallis: sheer joy.

What news of Abdul Rahman? I've lost all touch with him. I'm glad Quartet Books are publishing your translation of النهايات. Please let them send me a copy. Your Modern Arabic Literature is a great book; what wonderful work! what patience, what insight! Incidentally, what has happened to the promised new edition of Hunters? No news whatsoever from 3 Continents on the matter.

Wishing you and yours all the best,

Yours ever,  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad  
1st June, 1988

My dear Roger,

A day after my return from a lovely journey through Pakistan and India I received your letter of April 18. In less than 24 hours I've photocopied Chapter One of Walid Masoud (for my files !) and I am dashing off this—lest more time should devour even more of one's creative (or seemingly creative urges). It struck me that I had forgotten to send back the revised translation—although it must be some 2 years now since I worked on it! Forgive my negligence please. Anyway, I only revised this chapter—and seemed to funk the rest. Which goes to support your view that a lot of professional editing is required. Adnan is right about Athlone Press ( they wrote to me personally asking for the MS)[...] I am very pleased that you have now a complete manuscript of the translation, and PROTA , after editing it, might place it with a good publisher ( as Salma keeps telling me). Please keep me posted.

The first two weeks of last March I spend in Paris, where I participated in the Arab & French Novelists Conference. As you know Editions Jean-Claude Lattes is having Walid translated into French for publication, most likely, next fall. The Ship is also being translated to be published by Minuit, The First Well البئر الأولى, similarly, by Sindbad - and الغرف الأخرى is being translated by a French Professor at the Sorbonne ( whose Arabic I found to be perfect and who has been entrusted with making a special study of works for a Literary Dictionary in French ). Among an endless number of theses, I received one in Arabic, in 300 closely typed foolscap pages, by a Moroccan student, entitled البينة والدلالة في البحث عن وليد مسعود the author tells me he spent four years working on it, and feels he has yet to exhaust the subject!

I am glad the Endings is coming out. I hope I shall get a

copy. Under press now, in Baghdad are my translation of Twelfth Night (my seventh Shakespeare play) and A Celebration of Life (some of the essays on literature and art that I have written in English in the last 20 years )—will send you copies in due course.

Shall write again soon. How absolutely wonderful to play and conduct Monteverdi, Victoria and Fauré—all great beloveds of mine. (I've always had a recording of Fauré's Requiem—since the early forties . But Maurice Durufle is new to me.)

My warmest wishes, as always,  
Jabra Ibrahim Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad  
Oct. 30, 1988

My dear Roger,

I'll hope you'll get this note before your departure. I am so glad you're coming to Baghdad, at last ! I heard you more than once on the radio talking about Naguib Mahfouz, and was very happy we had such an eloquent speaker to tell the world about a great Arab novelist.

The French translation of Walid Masud is out, and you may have got your copy by this time (at my suggestion to the Publisher).

No, I have yet to acquire a Compact Disk player, and am quite happy with my LP's and cassettes. Any music you bring along, will make me happy—esp. 18th C and earlier. When you come to us you'll see I've got quite a lot of it (from 15th to 18th centuries). It is, literally, my daily bread. It sustains my mind and my writing.

I am looking forward eagerly to your coming: there's so



much to talk about. So, until we meet in Baghdad, warmest wishes to you and the family.

Yours ever and love.

Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour

Baghdad

Dec 22, 1988

Dear Roger,

Just a word to say what a pleasure it is to listen to your performance of early organ music and to the cassette I have just received of music by Vaughan Williams and Purcell. You seem to know exactly what kind of music I love—you obviously love the same kind, too—and it is a pity I cannot reciprocate, for the reasons that you know. Every cassette I get of this sort is, literally, a gift from heaven, especially since my trips to London are becoming almost non-existent. Without this kind of music I don't think I could have written anything of value—a terrible admission from an Arab author, don't you think? But then not every Arab author was born and brought up in Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

[...] When the translation [of Walid Masoud] has been edited and made ready for publication, I shall write to Edward Said about it, and you may contact some good publishers yourself, perhaps through a *good* literary agent. In London my agent, in the good old days was Curtis Brown, but I've lost their address. Anyway, having waited for so long, we might give ourselves a little more time. The fact that Naguib Mahfouz has received the Nobel Prize and Palestine is very much in the news these days might help another Arab novelist attract a reasonable amount of attention. It's possible that the French translation might also help?

Be that as it may, let me wish you and the family a merry



The Market-place, Bethlehem.  
from *Out-of-Doors in the Holy Land*, Henry Van Dyke, 1908.

Christmas and a happy new year—and more and more good work and good music.

Yours ever,  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad  
Feb. 22, 1989

My dear Roger,

Thank you for your letter of January 30th. You've done Naguib Mahfouz, let alone the whole of modern Arabic literature, a great service, and I am sure you sometimes feel exhausted by it all. Let me hope however there is so much love in it for you that you think it worth your while, love being, like virtue, its own reward. How else could you carry on with the vagaries and fickle fortunes of Walid Mas'ud, man and novel both? As you are a wonderful musician, all your troubles are forgotten in playing a Bach or a toccata on the Great organ of your church and you're fit again for all the impossibilities and absurdities of Arabic style and diction, etc. Or am I expecting too much?

[...] . Did you get a copy of the French translation [of Walid Masoud] I asked Lattés to send you?

I've just heard from Donald Herdeck that Hunters is coming out in mid March. Yesterday the 4th printing of الصيد came out here in Baghdad. The fourth printing of Walid is due soon in Beirut. .

My week in Kuwait (for the Symposium on the Short Story in the Arab Gulf States ) was very enjoyable. I wound up the event with a 3-hour session in which I gave a critical

reading of some 30 stories. The response all around was great. On march 12 I am supposed, if all goes well, to lecture on literary translation at Abu Dhabi. In the meantime, being hopelessly busy with God knows what, I'm damned if I can concentrate on anything least of all on the novel on which I am making very slow progress.

I don't think I told you that Lamia fell and broke her thigh bone just 3 days before new year's day. She's had a major operation—was hospitalized for 23 days—and is now making (like my novel ) very slow progress with the help of a physiotherapist. She sends you her love.

Music remains my real salvation—and thank God for his mercies small and otherwise.

With my warmest wishes to you and your family,

مع تحياتي الحارة إلى عدنان دائماً

Yours ever  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad,  
May 2, 1989

My dear Roger,

I enclose a very interesting cutting from the Los Angeles Times, which you may have seen , any way . But it gives one some hints as to the possibilities of getting a good publisher for Walid Masoud (and perhaps other translations). Erroll McDonald seem to be really interested in modern Arabic writing: he is the man who got Cities of Salt accepted and published by Random House ( a paper back edition is coming out in July). Would you be interested in writing to him, or telephoning him about Walid Masoud ? [...]

Also, I understand it would be a good then to have a literary agent of some caliber—both in the U.S. and the U.K. In

the old days my literary agent in London was Curtiss Brown (who placed Hunters with Heinemann about 30 years ago—God, how time flies—and insisted I should soon send him another novel to publish...) Would you care to try Andrew Wylie—who seems to be interested in "international" literature? I got his name and address (like McDonald's) from Peter Theroux[...]

I am going to tell Issa Boullata who (together with Anne Menton) is translating البئر الأولى to write to him also.

Have you received my A Celebration of Life sent to you by my Publishers here?

Every now and then (and quite often) I listen to your wonderful organ recital on the cassette you gave me . What a Pleasure ! What a pleasure !

With love to you and yours,  
Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour  
Baghdad  
October 14, 1991

My dear Roger,

After the horrific experience we've been through since last January, and having actually survived somehow, battered but unbowed, I've been writing to friends again, just to remind them I'm still around—almost by miracle.

Since March I've managed to put the novel I'd worked on in 1989 and 1990 in its final shape—and it will soon be published by Dar al Ad'ab, hopefully by December next, under the title يوميات سراب عفان. I also managed in the meantime to finalize a new book of essays (of a very *personal* note this time), soon to be published by المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والنشر, also

hopefully by December, entitled معايشة النمرة، أوراق أخرى. The essays were written mostly in 89 and 90. As you know, the horrible embargo imposed on Iraq goes on, causing a lot of suffering all around. The embargo on mail seems to have been relaxed recently: to me it was a horrid experience to be deprived of correspondence as to be deprived of the very air I breathe. I trust, however, this letter does get to you.

In the spring of 1990 I was invited by the Shakespeare Globe Centre of Los Angeles to spend a week there to see my translation of Hamlet performed by a group of Arab students. I was supposed to be there in April this year. It went to pot, of course. The Translation Center of Columbia University gave me its prize for this year and asked me to be in New York last June in order to receive the prize.... Anyway, we can still go to Amman, Jordan, thank God. Amman has become a beautiful city and I went there last year twice to give lectures, etc. I am going there in a week's time, and thence to Tunis for the Carthage Theatre Festival (as a member of its international Jury). Life is indeed hell, but as the saying goes في الحركة بركة.

I have yet to see the new edition of Hunters in a Narrow Street, and have written to Donald Herdeck for a few copies to be sent to me care of my friend Dr. Mohammad Asfour of Jordan University. Having been cut off almost completely for the last ten months I don't know much about what's been going on in the world—and I miss my foreign magazines, esp. The Times Literary Supplement.

ما أخبارك أنت؟

I hope you're back in Philadelphia. Have you done much writing recently? Any new translations? What news about Walid Masoud? Any Progress? A few weeks ago I was informed The Ship was ready for publication in its French translation, and so was البئر الأولى also in French. Last year Dr. Issa Boullata completed the translation of The First Well, which I revised thoroughly: I managed to post back to him my revised version in the nick of time, before the Gulf Crisis. I still don't

know whether he has received it. He was having his sabbatical this year in order to write a book about me. God help him. So far no news from him.

You cannot imagine how often I've played the cassettes recently of your music and Purcell's songs. Music is my only salvation, really. Now that I finished my novel (which I enjoyed writing *intensely* wondering sometimes whether it was my swan song for me to love it so much!) I feel abandoned and completely lost without a new theme to stimulate me...

Love and all the best , as always,

Jabra

15/8 Al Mansour

Baghdad

Dec. 17th ,1991

My dear Roger,

Soon after my return from Amman and Tunis, four weeks ago, I received your letter: I was very pleased to see that we could communicate again. I also received a letter from Issa Boullata of McGill University in response to a letter of mine. I am happy to know you're working as hard as ever. I can think of no scholar who has served the cause of modern Arabic Literature in the West so well as you. You're a gem. I've just read your introduction to the 'First American Edition' of my Hunters: it's marvelous—so succinct, and so penetrating And I am ever so grateful for your profound interest in my work !

وأرجو أن أبقى عند حسن ظنك

In Amman I was delightfully surprised to see Adnan—and we have long sessions together. He gave me a copy of your combined translation of Walid Masoud—a superb achievement. I trust Edward Said will at last be able to do something about it. Of course as soon as يوميات سراب عفان and معايشة النمرة وأوراق أخرى are

out (any time now, in Beirut ), I'll see that you get a copy of each.

I spent 23 days in Amman and Tunis—23 incredible days of constant movement, discussion, excitement—sheer pleasure, after ten months of horror here. To see so many friends, so many *محبين ومريدين* was exhilarating. At the Carthage Theatre Festival I was the president of the international jury as saw at least some 20 plays, some of which were very interesting. I met some very fine people, women as well as men , and received so much adulation and love—I felt for once my life-time's work had not been all in vain. On my last day I was awarded by the President of Tunis the country's highest honour: the Medal of Merit, First Class *وسام الاستحقاق من الدرجة الأولى*.

I was recently invited by Boston University to give a seminar on any free day I choose between January 10 and April 17 on my work as translator, esp. of Shakespeare, all expenses paid (including air travel). But I don't think I shall be able to make it, as American visas for Iraqi passport holders are not easily given these days.

Cultural life here is picking up again. In spite of the continued blockade and the terrifying inflation (prices are from 6 to 50 times their original figures ), the country is re-couping its energies. I am kept quite busy with committees, panels, adjudication, etc. This evening, at the Architectural Club, I am one of three speakers on the " Interconnections between Art and Architecture". And so on.

Your study of the Arabic short story will keep you very busy. So many writers in the Arab world seem to go in for it (which is not the case with the novel). I've noticed in recent years that the best Arab short story writers are mostly women. Look out, especially, for the work of *ليلى العثمان*, Hadia Said (Lebanese in Rabat), Salma Mattar Seif (of Sharja), Salwa Bakr and Itidal Osman (of Cairo), Basma An-Nusour ( of Amman), Alia Mamdouh (of Baghdad), Liana Badr (Palestinian



in Tunis), Fawzieh Rashid رشيد (of Bahrain), etc., all women. Male writers still dominate, of course, numberwise. (In the 60's and early 70's two young women Leila Baalbaki and Ghada as-Samman seemed to excel, after the earlier work of Samira Azzam.

Do keep in touch—and send me any new book of yours. Until we meet someday, somewhere. Lamia sends her love and best wishes for next year combines with mine to you and your family.

Yours ever  
Jabra Ibrahim Jabra

P.S.

Because I know you're a great lover of music and also a wonderful organist, I copy below a page I've written in Arabic while listening to Bach's Passacaglia in C minor on the organ. It's from a letter to a dear friend.

... مائة حزن غريب جميل .... أهدائه حزن يحن ويشعر به  
الـ "كلايا" ليوهان سباستيان باخ، تأتي فير أنغام  
المرغبت العظيم لأعواج على أصابع، تدفع وتدفع وتشتكي للقارات  
بعدها، تتلطم وتتأهل بإيجازاتك بالحزن والتوق، حجة  
تشتري، متاع، تفيض بأهانتك الهائلة من تحت عريض بعد  
الرملاء، ينقلب فجأة بعد مائة وتباريه على استواطي  
النفس، ويعرق رمالاً وهجورها في سجن لذيذ رهيب،  
بأكبر بلاد في هيمانه وهنونه ... هكذا يكون العشق  
يديره لا تراه العين ولا تحسه اليد، ولكنه حاضر مضور هذا  
البحر المتقارظ بلحج الحزن المتكلمة، وزبد الحزن الافرسي  
يتأش في الغصه - فصد القلب، فضاء الأعماق  
المكونة بالإله المعق، لما بالبحر نفسه ...

601-11-55 Al Mansour

Baghdad 11601

July 20, 1993

My dear Roger,

Over a month ago I came back home after a 10 week absence in Cairo and Amman. In Cairo, where I was invited by the American University there as " Distinguished Visiting Professor" ( and put up for nearly 3 weeks at the Nile Hilton), I gave no less than six lectures, including 2 in English, to eager audiences in crowded halls, always with long discussions to follow. It was an exhilarating experience, and the Egyptian press seemed to follow me everywhere—news and interviews were all over the Cairo papers and those of the rest of the Arab world. I then returned to Amman to relax with my son Yasser's family but some of the same excitement continued there too. (I have so many very dear friends there), with more lectures, etc. To really rest I had finally to come back to my books and papers *and* music in Baghdad. If only American Cruise missiles were not soon showered on our very quarter (Al Mansour) but we were saved by a miracle...

Mrs. Tania Nasser ; wife of Dr. Hanna Nasser, President of Bir Zeit University in the Occupied West Bank, saw Edward Said a few days ago in Bir Zeit—where he was, together with many Arab and American and British scholars, for a conference on Palestine and the Arab World . She phoned from Amman to tell me that he had promised her as soon as he was back in New York to write the long-awaited introduction to Walid Masoud. Professor Said, as you know, has been extremely busy in recent weeks and seems likely to go on being busy for some time to come. Let us hope he'll get something written by the the end of August.

Adnan phoned me some 3 weeks ago and seemed certain he was moving to Arkansas late July or early August. I've burdened him with more than one job... Incidentally, did he

send you a copy of my last novel (1992) يوميات سراب عفّان? Let me know, please. If not, I might have a copy sent to you from Amman.

Did Abdul Rahman Munif ask you to contribute an essay (on me) for the festschrift he is preparing on the occasion of my having reached (read: passed) my seventieth year?

Although the book is in Arabic, there will be one or two essays in English. I should love you to participate in this book—and you still have until the end of August (the book is scheduled for distribution 1993-94) and it was kept from me until I met Abdul Rahman last month in Amman. He told me I could ask anybody I wanted to contribute. I think you will be in good company—if you have the time. It could be a re-writing of something you have already written or published[...]

The second edition of my البئر الأولى has just been published by المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والنشر. Last March, the French translation, *Le Premier Puits*, was published by Albin Michel in Paris. Dar al Adab in Beirut is about to publish my new book :

الاكتشاف والدهشة: حوار حول دوافع الإبداع مع جبرا ابراهيم جبرا، أجراه ماجد السامرائي.  
It is in fact a series of dialogues conducted by Majed with me over a period of twenty years, so arranged as to form a sort of an intellectual autobiography, with some semblance of chronological order.

I was deeply touched by your reference to my dear Lamia. You don't seem to have heard that she passed away last October—after a long and painful illness.

Let us keep in touch, please. With my love and warmest wishes.

Jabra

601-11-55 Al Mansour  
Baghdad 11601  
June 27, 1994

My dear Roger,

Your beautiful letter of Sept 6th, 1998 was lost for months then recently retrieved. My life is pretty confused, always busy, often lost; sometimes so intense, nothing could be like it; sometimes so horrid and depressed. But reading your letter again has refreshed me: to be blessed with such a wonderful friendship makes me remember again to be grateful to God Who, it seems, never forgets to send His ministering angels to help me out of my occasional hell.

I suppose you'll receive this letter weeks from now as you're likely to go away (home?) as soon as term is over. I am trying to match the good news of your creative activity: (a few scholars have served the cause of modern Arabic letters so vigorously as you—and with what love and profound understanding! And how right you are that English-speaking scholars should try and write in Arabic. Although I, for one; would want you to go on writing in English as well because, by so doing , you succeed in putting us in a global context. You see how selfish we are ?

The French translation of *البشر الأخرى* was issued in a grand edition by Albin Michel, and the English translation by Issa Boullata won the University of Arkansas' prize for the best literary work to be translated into English in 1993. Adnan must have given you the details. An Italian and a Spanish translation of *The Ship* came out a few months ago (I had advised the translators to make good use of *your* English translation, and they did). I was hoping you and Adnan's great translation of *Walid Masoud* might see the light of day this year; so far, no news. At the moment I am really excited about my new book, to come out in August *شارع الأميرات، فصول من سيرة ذاتية*.

The publisher is Maher al Kayyali المؤسسة العربية للدراسات والنشر. In its sixth (last ) chapter I talk in about 200 pages about what I call my annus mirabilis in Baghdad, 1951: السنة العجائبية I know of no Arab writer who has dared to be so frank in an autobiography. I am sure you'll like it.

Last November, Tania Nasser, a lovely Palestinian, soprano (and wife of the President of Bir Zeit University) sang 3 new poems of mine to an audience of about one thousand people, in the open ruins of an ancient Byzantine church in جبل عمان. It was a moonlit night, too! The poems were set to music by Agnes Bashir ( Russian married to an Iraqi musician ), who also played piano accompaniment—with what intensity! She's been working on 3 more poems (all new) all for Tania Nasser's voice: we have now a song cycle of 6 poems—with me being, of course, consulted and intervening at every line! What a pleasure. Three weeks from today I shall be in Amman, Inshallah, for the Jerash Festival and I am supposed to read a paper on the use of myth in modern Arabic Poetry. I shall be back in Baghdad after August 7th.

In the meantime a Palestinian composer, product of the German school, has been working on another song cycle; made up of 12 poems selected from my collected works, celebrating a Palestinian theme, called

«عبير الصخر: متوالية غنائية من اثنتي عشرة قصيدة» الخ

His name is Amin Nasser and he lives in Ramalla.

(Without music my life would have been literally impossible. I am now listening to the lovely Purcell songs you once sent me. A recent obsession : Cecilia Bartoli : what a divine singer !)

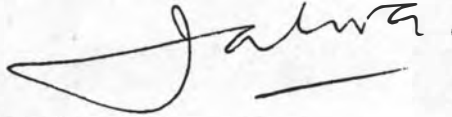
I am aching to read your *Arabic* contribution to my festschrift. Abdul Rahman Munif telephoned 3 months ago to tell me that the book was ready to go to press—but I've heard no more about it. Kayyali was supposed to publish it : I shall soon know what's happened to the book—when I go to Amman.

Another book, entitled حوار حول دوافع الإبداع، الاكتشاف والدهشة، a series of dialogues between Majed al Samarra'i and myself, has been in abeyance for a year now, owing to certain publishing complications.

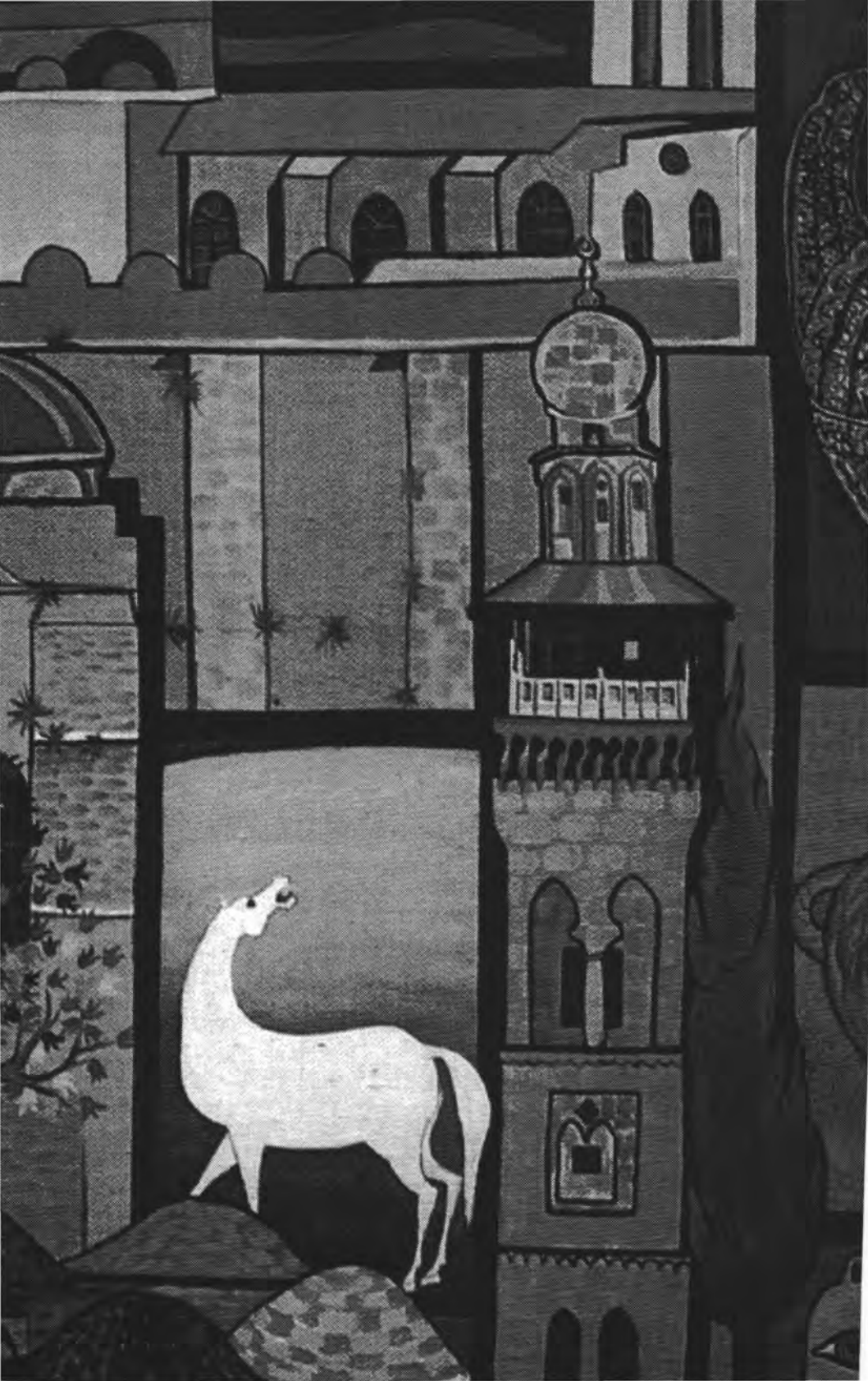
Al-Adab الأدب is soon publishing a special issue ملف on my work, and so is another magazine, published in Amman, called (في عالم الكتب). Actually I am rather terrified by all this sanctification. I have so much yet to say , to do ! (If only our current conditions were not so cruel, so depressing.)

Have you seen Adnan recently, or heard from him? Have you published any new books, new translations? Please keep in touch. It's so refreshing always to hear from you. And tell me about your music too: what does it feel like to combine, as you do, a love for Arabic literature with the love of music from Frescobaldi to Messiaen? (Incidentally, it was Schoenberg's Pierot Lunaire that got us off to having my poems set to music and sung so beautifully.)

My warmest love, as ever,



Overleaf:  
Tamam Al-Akhal:  
*From Jerusalem, oil, 1984*









**PEACE**  
and other poems

**PEACE**

1

People pass you in the street  
and do not see you.

Apparition, hidden river,  
inhabitant of cracks.

To billow and breathe  
without announcement:  
much preferred.

After battering talk  
a room clears,  
and you're on the ceiling  
extending your silent hand,  
water of light  
poured freely...

a hand? not a flag.  
You don't believe in flags anymore.

You are not even sure  
you believe in men.

But birds, children, silver trays—  
no problem here.  
Each day they trade their light  
and song.  
They feed you.

2

Rounding the last corner to school,  
for years and years  
a boy touched his finger to  
the same chipped stone in a wall.

Befriending one another  
was no trouble.

The boy knew what came  
next; tight desk,  
stretching hours.

Sixty years later  
in another country  
he tells one person  
about the stone.

Then goes outside  
to stare into the trees.

Is it still there?  
He will find it.  
What if it is not there?  
He will find it.

## **SHADOW**

In the streets of Jerusalem,  
someone wears clothes  
you find strange  
or odd hair

someone carries food  
you have never tasted  
do not especially  
wish to taste

it is an urgency  
a number one top-drawer priority  
that you watch and follow them  
not as a spy would follow  
but a shadow  
unobtrusively  
modestly  
soaking up their motion  
till a love from nowhere  
washes over you

a love for their crooked gait  
or flawed chin  
their bending to a child

waiting for a bus

or nothing

if only a love for their nothingness  
their soon-to-dieness  
equivalent to yours

you will pass over  
to the unknown land  
and no one will own it

*do this now*

***"I Never Realized they Had Aspirations Like Ours"***

*--An Israeli, about the Palestinians*

In Texas, cranes dip long beaks  
into green water.  
They are pausing here  
momentarily.  
Graceful necks suggest  
a curved, close world  
yet they have flown  
for thousands of miles.  
They appear not to notice us.  
Still, a feather fluffs differently  
or a wing stays wide  
if we pass.

My friend speaks the words *son*  
or a *great tiredness accompanied me*.  
How does he walk so graciously, carrying such tales?  
How does he think about mountains and birds?  
*Despite the hideous gravity of the place*  
*a strange exhilaration lifted us.*

My cousins in Jerusalem would say, *What else?*  
They have said it fifty years.

*What else but lift laundry and lettuce*

*and stare into the sky?*

By now they have the deepest bond.

*if the ground satisfied my dreams,  
the sky would miss me.*

**Naomi Shihab Nye**

\* **Naomi Shihab Nye** lives in San Antonio, Texas. Her most recent books are *Habibi* and *Lullabi Raft*. She edited *The Space between our Footsteps: Poems And Paintings from the Middle East* (all from Simon & Schuster.) Her father Aziz Shihab came to the United States from Palestine in 1950. She was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1997-1998.



## THE NARCISSUS' TRAGEDY THE SILVER'S COMEDY

*Translated by: Husain Haddawy*

They returned  
From the end of the tunnel to their mirrors .  
Singly or in groups they returned,  
When they regained their brothers' salt.  
They returned from the legends  
Of defending castles to plain speech.  
They did not raise their hand or banners  
To greet some miracles.  
They returned to celebrate  
The water of their being,  
To make preparations  
To marry their sons to their daughters,  
To make a body hid in marble dance,  
To hang from their ceilings  
Okra, garlic, and onions  
To dry for winter,  
To milk the breasts of their goats  
And the clouds seeping  
From the feathers of the doves.  
They returned with trepidation  
To the map of divine enchantment,  
To the carpet of banana trees  
In the land of ancient vistas:



A mountain overlooking the sea,  
Two lakes behind the memories,  
A seashore for the prophets,  
And a street for the scent of lemons.  
The country was secure from harm;  
Then rose the horses' din  
And rose the Heksos and Tartars,  
Masked and unmasked,  
And immortalized their names  
With spear or catapult;  
Then they departed,  
Without depriving April of its habits:  
The rocks continued to bloom  
The lemon blossoms sounded like bells,  
And the earth was left unharmed  
After their departure.

Land is inherited like language.  
The horses' din rose and died down,  
While the barley continued to grow.

They returned because they willed it so  
And they rekindled the fire in their flutes,  
And so the exiled returned from far,  
In bloodstained garb,  
Shining with joy like crystal,  
And the song rose above the absence and the distance.  
What weapons dare keep down the soaring spirit?  
Every place of their places of exile  
Lay free from harm.  
They made their legend as they wished,  
And to the pebbles praised the brilliance of the birds  
Whenever they passed by a river,  
They tore it and set it on fire with their longing,  
And whenever they passed by a lily of the valley,

They wept and asked,  
"Are we a nation or the wine of a new sacrifice?  
O song, take all the elements,  
And lift us up, slope after slope,  
And descend with us to the valleys.  
O song, for you know best the place,  
And you know best the time,  
And know our capacity."

They never left, and they never returned,  
For their hearts were almonds in the streets.  
The squares were larger than a sky  
That could not shelter them,  
And the sea forgot them.  
They knew their north and south,  
And they let the doves of memory fly home  
And caught from their martyrs  
A star to lead them to childhood's wilderness.

Whenever they said, "We have arrived,"  
Their leader fell down  
On the starting point of the circle.  
They said,  
"O hero, press ahead,  
That we may follow you to another end,  
And down with the starting point!  
O hero, bloodied with the tedious starts,  
Tell us how many times will our journey  
Be nothing but a start?  
O hero, whose bier is the barley loaves  
And the cotton balls,  
We will anoint the wound that drains your soul  
With dew and the milk of unending night  
With lemon blossoms and stones stained with blood

With song, our song, and a feather  
Plucked from a Phoenician bird."

Land is inherited like language.

Their song was a stone rubbing the sun.  
Cheerful and laughing, they knew music and dance  
Only at the funerals of departing friends.  
They loved women as they loved  
Fruits and principles and cats.  
They reckoned the years by the ages of their dead  
And often wondered,  
"What have we done to the carnations  
To be denied their company?  
What have we done to the seagulls  
To be living in seaports  
And bitterness in an arid land,  
Coming and going?"

They were what they had been  
Like every river that desires no rest.  
They wandered in the world, so that the road  
Might save them from wandering.  
Because of life they tasted  
Only what little life cared to offer,  
They cared not how they lived or died  
Nor thought much of the afterlife.  
What difference did it make for them  
Whether it was Isaac or Ishmael  
Who was God's sacrificial lamb?  
Their hell was Hell itself.  
They got used to plant the mint in their shirts  
They learned to grow the ivy by their tents,  
And they got used to store the violets  
In their songs and the sarcophagi of their dead.

It did not harm the plants,  
When their longing gave them body.

They returned before sunset.  
They returned to their names  
And the daylight at the flight of the swallow.  
Exile is places and times which transform their victims.  
It is the sundown when it falls  
On windows overlooking nothing.  
It is the arrival to the shores  
On a vehicle which had lost its horses.  
It is birds overpraising their singing  
It is a country dependent on a throne,  
Having reduced nature to body.

They returned from exile,  
Having left their horses behind,  
For they had shattered their legend  
To break out of it,  
To liberate themselves and think with their hearts.  
They returned from the great legend  
To recall their old days and their words.  
They returned to their old selves,  
Walking on the sidewalk, chewing  
The cud of delicious languor,  
Without concern for time, without aim,  
Looking at the flowers as other people  
Do, without much ado,  
While the lemon blossom begot itself once more,  
To open wide, at night,  
The windows of old houses  
On families in peace.

It was as if they did return  
Because there was time enough  
For the caravan to return  
From its journey back from far off India  
They repaired their carriages  
And arrived before their news,  
Having, above the windows of Central Asia,  
Lit the star of memory.  
They returned as if they did return;  
They returned from the north of Syria,  
From the small islands in the vast ocean,  
From numberless conquests,  
Numberless captivities.  
They returned as the minaret's shadow  
Hearkens to the call for the evening prayer.  
The roads did not mock them,  
As stranger mocks stranger.  
The river was their feeling,  
Whether faltering or bold,  
Receding or flooding.  
The banner of the willows  
Was hung by a soothsayer  
On the liquid gold of the moon.  
They had their story, the one in which Adam  
Their forefather in banishment,  
Wept in regret as he went into the desert.  
The prophets scattered everywhere,  
And civilization departed,  
And the palm trees departed,  
But they returned as caravans,  
Or dreams, or thoughts, or memories.  
They saw in their old recollections  
Hardships and trials enough to conjure Doomsday.  
Was the desert vast enough to swallow Adam's ruin,  
Adam, who near the apple tree

Poured into the womb of his wife  
The honey of the first desire,  
He who fought his death,  
Living to worship his Almighty God,  
Worshipping his Almighty God, that he might live?  
Did the first murderer, Cain,  
Know that his brother's sleep was death?  
Did he know that he had not yet learned  
The names of things, nor any language?  
Was a woman clad in fig leaves our first map?  
Under the sun there was no other sun,  
Save the heart's light penetrating the darkness.  
How many years had passed before they found  
The answer to the question?  
And what was the question, save  
An answer without any question?  
Such were the questions put by sands to sands,  
To prophesy the known or the unknown,  
A prophesy in ignorance,  
For sand is sand.  
The mystic takes a woman by surprise  
To spin the wool of his gloom with his beard  
And rise a crystal body.  
Does the soul have haunches,  
A waist, a shadow?  
Captivity provided room enough  
For the dark sun of doubt,  
Ever since they were shut in.  
Their freedoms were what fell from the heaven  
Of the shattered absolute around their tents:  
Helmets, armor, a blue ewer,  
Weapons, human remains, a crow,  
An hourglass, and grass covering a massacre.  
They asked themselves,  
Can we build our temple

On a cubit of the world to worship  
Him who created the insects  
And categories and foes  
And the secret hidden in His flies?  
Can we bring back the past  
To the edge of the present,  
To bow in prayer at our rock  
To Him who has without writing  
Written our fate in the Book?  
Can we sing a song to a celestial stone,  
So that we may endure the sagas,  
The sagas which we can alter  
Only by reading the cloud?  
Will the surface mail reach us on the beak of a hoopoe,  
Bringing our letter back from Sheba,  
So that we may believe in the strange and marvelous?  
There is room in the wilderness  
For horses that leap to the heights  
And roll down the slopes,  
Room for riders who spur on the years.  
The years are one long night,  
And death is slaughter in the night.  
O song, take all the elements,  
And lead us back, age after age,  
That we may find in human history  
What may bring us from our tedious journey  
Back to the place, our place.  
Lift us to the tips of the spears,  
That we may look on the city.  
For you know best the place and our capacities,  
And you know best the time."

O song, take me with Thou to a stone  
That I may sit near distant guitar;  
Take me to yonder moon,  
That I may know how much remains of my wandering;  
Take me to a string  
That ties the sea to the receding shore;  
Take me on a journey  
That falters little in a tree's artery;  
Take me to a rain  
That falls on the roof tiles of our lonely home;

Take me back to myself,  
That I may join my funeral  
On my feast day;  
Take me to my feast,  
A martyr, in the violet of the martyr;  
For they returned, but I did not return.  
Take me from there to there,  
From artery to artery.

They returned to homes within themselves  
And regained the silken steps at the luminous lakes  
And recovered what was lost from their lexicon:  
Rome's olive trees imagined by the soldiers,  
Canaan's sacred book buried under  
The temples' ruins between Tyre and Jerusalem,  
The trail of aromatic incense  
Blowing from rosy Damascus  
Toward Quraysh's land,  
And the Deer of eternity  
In her wedding procession  
To the northwardflowing Nile  
And to the Tigris, wild in manliness,  
Conducting Sumer to immortality.



They were together,  
They were together, fighting,  
Winning and losing.  
They were together,  
Marrying and begetting the children of contention,  
Or the progeny of madness.  
They were together,  
Siding against the North  
And raising above Hell  
A bridge to cross from Hell  
To the triumph of their spirit  
And waging the battle for reason  
For he whose faith lacks reason  
Has no soul.

They asked themselves,  
"Can we transplant the power to create  
From Gilgamesh who was denied the grass of immortality  
And from Athena thereafter?  
Where are we now?  
Let the Romans freeze us in marble  
And return the center of the world to Rome  
And beget our ancestors  
By the sway of their sword,  
Yet we keep of Athena within us  
What turns the ancient sea into our song,  
And our song is a stone that rubs the sun  
Within us, a stone that shines with our obscurity,  
For obscurity is utmost clarity;  
So how can we know what we have forgot?  
Christ returned to Supper, as we had wished,  
And Mary returned to him,  
With her long braids with which to cover  
The Roman stage within us.  
Was there enough meaning in the olive grove

To fill his hands with the presence of God  
And fill the wounds with basil  
And pour out upon him  
The radiance of our souls?

O song, take all thoughts,  
And take us back, wound by wound.  
Heal our forgetfulness, and take us,  
As far back as you can, to early man,  
As he shines, by his primitive tents,  
The brasscovered dome of the sky,  
Trying to see what lies hidden in his heart.  
Lift us up, and take us down to the place,  
For you know best the place,  
And you know best the time."

They readied themselves in the passes for the siege.  
Their shecamels thirsted,  
While they milked the mirage,  
To drink the milk of prophesy  
From the imagination of the south.  
In every place of exile, the siege left  
A fortress with broken doors,  
While behind every door a desert lay,  
In which ended the long journey from war to war,  
And for every thorn in that desert  
A Hagar was exiled southward.  
They passed by their names, engraved on metal and stone,  
But did not recognize them,  
For victims do not trust their surmise.  
They did not recognize them,  
For they were sometimes covered with sand,  
Sometimes with the desert plants.  
Had all flags been the same,

Their history would have been our history,  
And all the nations would have had  
One way of thinking  
And one history.  
And our end would have been our beginning;  
Our beginning, our end.

Land is inherited like language.

Had twohorned Alexander had but one,  
And had the world been bigger,  
The easterner's name would have shined from its tablet,  
The westerner a little farther from home.  
Had Caesar been a philosopher,  
His home would have been a little plot of land,  
And our history would have been our history.  
Let the Bedouin's palm tree reach,  
On the road from Damascus, the Atlantic Ocean,  
So that a cloud may quench our deadly thirst.  
Their history would have been ours,  
Our history would have been theirs,  
Were it not for the dispute  
Over Doomsday's date.  
Who ever unified the stubborn earth,  
Without the zealstudded sword?  
None.  
Who ever returned from a journey  
To the tender years of youth?  
None.  
Who ever fashioned his life  
Far from strong opposition and valor?  
None.  
There must exist a place of exile  
That lays the pearls of memory  
To reduce eternity,

And turn all time to a moment.  
Perhaps they wrote their names over their names,

Recalling in the silver of the olive grove  
The first poet who used it to shroud their sky.  
They said,  
"O Aegean sea, take us back, o sea,  
For the family dogs are barking  
To invite us back to our rich estate.  
Victory is death,  
And death is victory in Hercules,  
And the martyrs' step is home.  
We are the ones who set out,  
In order to arrive and conquer.  
The priestesses drove us away from home,  
Without regard for our wives.  
Some of us died, while those who remembered home  
Slaughtered more old women and young girls  
And hurled the children of the city  
From their beds into the deep valley,  
In order to return early from devilish Troy.  
Did we betray our conscience  
To cause our wives to betray us?  
Our steadfast conscience was the bridge we crossed  
And the ship that carried to them  
The incense and beautiful Helen's perfume.  
Victory, like defeat, is death,  
And crime may lead to virtue.  
O sea, you adorn with the slayer the slain.  
O ancient sea, take us back  
To our barking dogs in our native land,  
And press the adventurous search  
For what is left of our fleet,  
Our old fishing boats,  
And our men who have turned into coral trees

At the bottom of the sea.  
Carry us, so that we may return from the war  
Of defending the sanctity of the bed  
To the beds of our women  
And the tanned sheepskins  
Which shine green in the ashes  
And in our poets' dreams.  
There must be a shore for us to land on  
And reach the hazel tree in our yard.  
For this light is not light enough  
For picking our berries."

They were there, conversing with the waves  
To imitate warriors  
Marching under the triumphal arch, singing,  
"Our places of exile have not been in vain,  
Nor have we endured exile in vain.  
Our men will die without regret,  
And the living shall inherit the calm of the breeze,  
Get used to opening windows,  
See what the past has done to their present,  
And weep quietly, quietly, lest the foes  
Should hear the broken shards within.  
O martyrs, you were right,  
For in spite of the deception of the flowers,  
Home is more beautiful than the road home.  
But even though the windows have not opened yet  
On the heaven of the heart,  
And exile is exile, here as well as there,  
We have not endured exile in vain,  
Nor have our places of exile been in vain."

Land is inherited like language.

They did not look like captives,  
Nor did they wear the freedom  
Of the martyr for a mantle,  
Nor escape the summer of their discontent.  
Why did they set the distant mountain  
On fire with their desolation  
And disappear when they found  
No paths down to the valleys?  
Like primitive shepherds,  
They may yet hearken to the echo  
And find the remnants of their voice,  
Their clothes, their war season,  
And the modulations of their flutes.

They made for every nation a legend,  
To emulate its heroes,  
And in every war they lost a hero.  
But every river has its course,  
And the past is not such  
That they might dwell above the river's mouth.

Their guitars place before me  
Andalusia and a horse.  
They said,  
"O maiden of the wind,  
Play for us on the needles of the pine,  
So that we may love life.  
Play the wind on the sandalwood,  
Play for us that you may soften our hearts  
And we may leave the harbor to the harbor.  
Play for us with the rhythm of the wine  
On the mysterious pupil of the eye,  
That you may lead us now  
Out of your great coral valley  
And teach us the trade of joy,  
Fortified by gypsy blood.  
Play for us and for what shines from the heart,  
Tapping with your high heels,  
So that the nations may wake up  
And see the cause of their wars:  
A man looking for peace in the wilderness  
And finding refuge in a woman."

High above the waves,  
The waves of the desert and the sea,  
They made an island for their existence.  
Their poet sang,  
"As I defend my journey

To my destiny, I defend my song.  
Among the palm trees and their partial shades,  
I shall rise from death and embrace life again  
And shall leave for the lemon blossoms,  
Far behind, the blue bridge hazy in the rain.  
O singers, if you can restore  
Their neighing to the horses,  
Then go through, for the horses pant behind my heart,  
As it leaps toward the barriers.  
We are what we are,  
And who can alter us?  
Whether we return or not,  
We march within ourselves.  
When there comes a day without dying  
And a night without dreaming,  
We will reach the harbor, burning  
On the fire of the last roses."

It was as if they did return,  
Because the sea flowed down  
From their fingertips and the side of the bed.  
They saw their homes behind the clouds  
And heard the bleating of their goats  
And groped for the horns of the story's deer  
And lit the fire on the hilltop  
And gave each other cardamom  
And kneaded the dough  
For the pastry of the happy feast.  
They asked each other,  
"Do you remember our days of exile there?  
They danced on their suitcases,  
Laughing at their life in distant exile.  
And at a country left empty of longing.  
They asked, "Do you remember Carthage's last siege?



Do you remember Tyre's fall  
And the European kingdoms on the Syrian shore  
And the great carnage in the Tigris,  
When the ashes covered the city and the years?  
"Here we are, back, O Saladin!"  
So look for sons."  
They repeated the tale  
From its beginning to the time for laughter.  
One day, tragedy may merge with comedy,  
One day, comedy may merge with tragedy.  
They mocked the Narcissus of tragedy,  
And asked repeatedly  
The silver of comedy,  
"What will we dream of when we realize  
That Mary was a woman?"  
They smelled the grasses, as spring sprouted  
With their wounds from the wall  
And brought them back from every place of exile.  
The bite of the flea is like the bite of the viper,  
And the scent of basil is the coffee of exile,  
A walkway for the emotions  
When they walk in their proper homes.  
They said, "We have arrived!"  
They clapped for their dogs,  
For their bleating goats,  
For the ancestors of the story,  
For the old ploughs,  
And for the the sea caressing  
The onions hanging  
Above old weapons.  
What happened happened.  
The husbands joked with the wives  
Of husbands laid on the bier for burial.  
They said,  
"Being done with the dancing and wailing

Of the hired women mourners,  
O maiden, we tell now of hearts running  
With the horses to meet the rising memories.  
We tell how Hercules endured  
His last blood and the mothers' madness,  
And how we became him  
And how we became Ulysses,  
His opposite, when he sought yonder sea.  
We tell, and as we do, we mention  
The call of the Kurdish leader  
To the wavering Arab,  
'Bring your sword, and take from me  
A blessing on the Prophet  
And his companions and women,  
And take your share of alms.'  
They laughed heartily, saying to themselves  
That prison may exceed in beauty exile's gardens,  
And saw their windows open on their humor  
And set their roses blazing on the shores.  
What happened happened.  
They will leap on the ladders  
And open the coffers of memory  
And the chests of clothes,  
Sometimes polishing the door knobs,  
Sometimes counting the rings.  
Their hands and their gardens grew with the years,  
Yet they failed to find their faces  
On the rusty mirrors or the dirty glass.  
So be it!  
The garden will grow larger,  
When they arrive, shortly before the singing,  
And they will look behind, saying,  
"We are what we are.  
Who will drive us back to the desert?"

We will teach our foes a lesson  
In agriculture and how to make  
Water burst out from a rock.  
We will plant pepper in the soldier's helmets,  
We will plant wheat on every slope  
Because wheat extends  
Beyond the confines of silly empires.  
We will adopt the customs of our dead  
And wash off the rust of time  
From the silver of the trees.

Our homeland must make us its own,  
Its plants, its birds, its stones.  
Our homeland must be our birth,  
Our grandfathers,  
Our grandchildren,  
Our hearts treading  
On the thorny rose of Jerusalem or grouse down.  
Our homeland must let us fence in  
With violets its fire and its ashes.  
It must be our homeland,  
Must make us its own.  
Whether a paradise or misfortune,  
It is just the same.

We will teach our foes how to raise doves,  
If they will learn.  
And we will spend our siesta  
Under the shady vine trellis,  
Surrounded by cats asleep under the filtered light,  
By horses resting from their wandering,  
By cattle slumbering and chewing the cud,  
And by a cock that keeps awake  
Because there are hens in the world.  
We will spend our siesta

Under the shady vine trellis.  
How tired we are, how tired from the sea and the desert."

They were returning and dreaming  
That they had arrived,  
Because the sea was flowing down  
From their fingertips and the shoulders of their dead.  
And they were suddenly looking at  
The young bearded hero lying  
On the bier of his last step.  
And they were wondering,  
"Does he lie dead here over his revolver,  
In his silk brocade, at his final doorstep?  
Does he lie dead here?  
Here and now in the afternoon sun,  
His fingers flashing the sign of victory,  
Shaking the door of the old house  
And the island's ramparts.  
Now he has taken the last step to the door  
And completed the march with the return of our dead.  
And now the sea lies asleep  
Under the windows of the little houses.  
O sea, we have not sinned much.  
O ancient sea, give us no other but ourselves.  
We know that you are holding more victims,  
And we know that the waters are the clouds."

They were what they had been.  
They were returning and asking dark fate,  
"Must a hero die before the vision  
Grows greater and the stars multiply  
On our banners?"  
They could not add one more rose to the end  
Or change the course of old legends,

For the song is the same song,  
And there must be a hero who falls  
At the triumphal arch, at the height of the song.  
They sang,

"O hero who lives within us, wait.  
Live one more night, so that we may reach  
The end of a life  
Crowned with a beginning without end.  
Live one more night, so that we may complete  
The journey of the bloodstained dream.  
O crown of our valor,  
Legends' twilight  
Crowned with a beginning without end,  
O hero, who survives within us,  
Live one more hour, so that we may begin  
Victory's sacred dance.  
We have not triumphed yet.  
Wait, hero, wait!  
Why do you depart a moment before the goal?  
O hero who survives within us, wait."

Exile's weary resignation was still within them,  
Within them still a street to exile  
And rivers without shores.  
Within them still lay limpid narcissus,  
Afraid of drying out,  
Within them still what would change them  
If they returned and did not find  
The same anemones,  
The same hardy quince,  
The same daisies,  
The same persimmons,  
The same long ears of corn,  
The same elder,  
The same bundles of dry garlic,

The same oak,  
And the same alphabet.  
They were about to descend to their homes.  
What dream would they dream,  
From which dream would they emerge,  
How would they enter the gardens,  
While exile is exile?  
They knew their way to its end,  
And they dreamt it.

They returned from the future to their present,  
And they knew what would happen  
To the songs in their throats,  
And they dreamt of the carnations  
On the fence of the house  
In their new place of exile.  
They knew what would happen  
To hawks if they settle in palaces,  
And they dreamt of the struggle  
Of their narcissus with Paradise  
If it becomes their place of exile.  
They knew what would happen to the swallow  
When spring sets it on fire,  
And they dreamt of the fitful spring of their feelings  
And knew what would happen  
When their dream arose from a dream,  
Knowing that it was only dreaming.  
They knew and dreamt and returned and dreamt  
And knew and returned and returned and dreamt,  
And they dreamt and returned.

*Mahmoud Darwish*

Paris, March, 1989



## THE TIME

*Translated by Husain Haddawy*

1

The time's ear of wheat I hold,  
My head a tower of fire:  
What blood divining in the sand?  
What setting of the stars?  
Flame of the present, tell us what to tell !  
The shreds of history are in my throat,  
And on my face the sacrifice's marks.  
How bitter language now,  
Narrow alphabet's door!

2

The time's ear of wheat I hold,  
My head a tower of fire:  
Is it a friend who has turned executioner?  
Is it a neighbor who has said:  
"How slow is Hulago?"  
Tomb tops are beckoning.  
Maybe there is nothing,  
Maybe a shelter in the rubble.



"Who is knocking at the door?  
A tax collector? Pay him the tribute."  
We whispered and took counsel,  
Figures of men and women, walking forms,  
Our steps a thread of death.  
"Is your murder from God?  
Or is God from your murder?"  
Lost in riddles, he bent, an arc of fear  
Over his bending days.  
Maybe there is nothing.  
--"Shall I complain to an ashtray?  
My brother is lost, my father, mad, my children, dead.  
With whom to plead? Shall I embrace the door?  
Shall I complain to an ashtray?"  
--"He is sick. Bring the good man,  
And heal him with the sneezes of the wise."  
Maybe there is nothing,  
Maybe poetry, the flying sparks which hurt the eye,  
The sight of home in fragments raised to God.  
--"Whom does the ant her lesson teach?  
Why is this echo, and what is this call?"  
Maybe there is nothing,  
Maybe a throne of ashes,  
Corpses, the killer's masterpiece,  
Piles of bones. Is it a child's head,  
This mass, or is it a lump of coal?  
Is this a body that I see,  
Or is it a figure of clay?  
I bend to close some eyes and mend a waist  
Surmise may aid, or maybe memory.  
In vain I trace the thread,  
In vain unite head, arms, and legs,  
To recognize the dead.  
A fortune teller's owl  
Alighted on a minaret,

Wove a rainbow of its voice,  
And choked with sobs until it found joy.

3

The time's ear of wheat I hold,  
My head a tower of fire:  
The clown has revealed his secrets,  
This time of strife is but a jewelry shop,  
A swamp replete with prophets.  
The clown has revealed his secrets,  
Truth will be death,  
Death the poet's bread,  
The bonds to country,  
But a moment floating  
Upon the face of time.  
The clown has revealed his secrets,  
O glorious flood! Unlock the gates,  
Be merciful and drown me;  
Take my last shore, and take me.  
I am enchanted by a flaming gulf;  
I am enchanted by a burning straw;  
I am enchanted by the ways  
Which terrify the ways.

4

The time's ear of wheat I hold,  
My head a tower of fire:  
My soul remembers not the objects of desire.  
The heritage hidden in the house of forms,  
Recalling no longer what the rain says,

Nor what the trees write with their ink,  
No longer marking but a lone seagull,  
Tossed by the waves below the boat,  
No longer hearing but screaming metal,  
There where the city is a moon in twain,  
Tied to the navel of a ghoul of sparks,  
No longer knowing that God and the poet  
Sleep like two children on the cheek of stone.  
My soul remembers not the objects of desire;  
Therefore, the shadow, the looming morrow,  
Terrifies my soul.  
Hence the misgivings, hence the restlessness.  
From fire to fire, bound, I have run,  
Drowning in perspiration,  
And with the wall shared sleepless night  
(Monsters are the steps of the night).  
I have often said to the child I used to be:  
"I call upon you. Tell me  
Wow shall I find again desire,  
Restore the fragrance to the wine of life?  
How shall I embrace the earth,  
And break the severing bonds?"  
I have often said to what remains  
Of poetry in my memory:  
"What saw across my neck  
Fills the verse of silence?  
To whom recite my ashes?  
And I know not how to remove my pulse,  
And throw it on the board.  
And I refuse to drum my grief to heaven.  
Let me proclaim my life to be  
A windmill and a haunted house."

5

The time's ear of wheat I hold,  
My head a tower of fire:  
The trees of love in Qassabeen  
Are twin brothers with Beirut's trees of death,  
This myrtle field consoles exile's field.  
As Qassabeen enters the map of grass  
Sipping the water from the valleys' bowls,  
So has Beirut entered the map of death--  
Orchard--like tombs and torn off fields.  
Who is shedding Qassabeen's blood  
In Tyre, Sidon, and in bleeding Beirut?  
What in its distance nears?  
What smears my map with blood?

Summer has dried, and fall is far away,  
And spring is dark in this earth's memory,  
And winter is what death depicts--  
Demise and hemorrhage,  
A time which issues from the jar of fate  
And from the hand of space,  
The time of waste which improvises time  
And ruminates on air.  
How can one know him, how?  
Killer without a face, with all the faces?

6

The time's ear of wheat I hold  
My head a tower of fire:  
Exhausted, now I turn and look:  
What are those rags? Annals, countries?

Or are they flags on twilight's shore?  
I find epochs in the moment  
And a thousand corpses in one corpse.  
I drown in helplessness,  
My body no longer in my control,  
My face no longer in its mirror,  
My blood no longer in the arteries.  
Is it because I do not see the light  
Which brings to me my dreams?  
Is it because I am farthest from a world  
Another one has blessed and I have cursed?  
What tears my roots and enters  
The jungles of desire: countries,  
Oceans of tears, generations of signs,  
Begot by nations and races--epochs and peoples?  
What severs my soul from my soul?  
What tears me down?  
Am I a junction, my way no longer my way,  
At the moment of illumination?  
Am I more than one man, each asking the other,  
"Who are you, and where are you from?"  
Are my parts battlefields?  
Am I more than one man,  
A pit my history, fire my fate?  
What rises with the laughter  
That rises from my stifled parts?  
Whom shall I ask what I had been,  
And what I have become?  
Blood that is wind and body that is leaf.  
Is this madness? In this darkness  
What am I? O madness, teach me and guide me!  
What am I, O friends, helpless onlookers?  
If only I can leave my skin,  
Knowing not who I was, who I shall be.  
I am searching for a name

And for something to name,  
But there is nothing save  
A sightless time and cryptic history,  
A soiled time and ruined history.  
Thus now the master is the slave.  
Praise be to you, O darkness'

7

The time's ear of wheat I hold,  
My head a tower of fire:  
My lofty forefather is trapped  
In what blind fate begets.  
Is he a parrot, or a prophet mummified?  
O forefather whose way I now forsake!  
You are the one who dwells in water's germ,  
And heaven's layers.  
'Tis wise that you should walk,  
As you do walk, backward, with pride.  
Indeed, you are the mystery,  
The kingdom full of prophesies.  
I cannot comprehend you;  
You are the miracle,  
And I am lost in sin.  
Forefather whom I now reject,  
While loving the creation  
In your creative name,  
No longer will you know me,  
The only link to you,  
The ruins in my soul  
That make me cry and mourn you!

8

The time's ear of wheat I hold,  
My head a tower of fire:  
The end of time that burning tablets rained  
Meets the dawn of time that rains petroleum,  
And the god of palm trees prostrates himself  
Before a god of steel.  
Between the two I am the running blood,  
The convoy in retreat.  
I follow after my extinguished fire,  
And see how I cajole my death  
Which is defiant in its wilderness.  
And I proclaim the world to be  
A tissue of my dreams.  
The threads unravel, and I see myself  
Down in the depths, and to the dark descent  
I give myself.  
And I see things to be a wheel of smoke,  
The world to be a hunt.  
The table is prepared:  
The bodies are provisions,  
The dishes heads, and God presides.  
This is a deer that was a baker,  
That is a lizard that a soldier was.  
Is it a god who eats the flesh,  
Or is the flesh the god?  
The roads now lie, the shores betray.  
How can one then avoid the fell of madness?  
Thus I reject the eater and the food,  
And find rest in distraction.  
My comfort is my refuge in my dream.  
I stray and surge and sing  
The craving for defiance, and I rave.  
The sphere of Venus is an anklet for my days,

A bracelet, Capricorn.  
I take the flowers with their crowns,  
To be but battlements.  
I find comfort in dissent,  
Yet I reject dissension's acts.  
Then saddle these wild winds,  
For history is slaughtered,  
An act of invocation,  
And leave slayer and slain as witnesses,  
And cover me with its remains,  
A ruin among ruins.

Thus I mine wisdom from its ore,  
Crying, "Welcome my rubble! Welcoming gloom!"  
To-morrow, death will put me out, but I shall shine,  
Leaving one light for such another.  
Even though I am weaker than a thread,  
My name is the name of a mighty god.  
Thus I begin, embracing earth  
And the body of the sea,  
Its secret love which has the sun for hands,  
Body which is the store of thunder  
The anchor of desire,  
The promise into which I fade,  
Withdrawing from contention.  
Let the light of the loving rain  
Cover the faces of the daisy,  
And come what may.  
I shall embrace the age to come,  
And wander like a skipper,  
Surveying my domain.  
Let them ascend to its highest summit,  
Descend to its lowest depth,  
They shall encounter neither fear nor curb,



As if the bird and bough are one.  
The earth, a child, the myths, women.  
Is this a dream?  
To those coming thereafter, I bequeathe  
The conquest of this land.  
My hide is not a hut for thoughts,  
Nor love a cutter of dry memories.  
My lineage is disdain,  
My weddings, pollination of two poles.  
This era is my era,  
The time of the dead god and blind machine,  
For I live in the basin of desires,  
Any my flowers are my severed limbs.  
I am water's alpha, fire's omega,  
Mad is my life.

9

Revealing to the time  
The secret of his passion,  
He thus admits to be  
The alien, the dissenter, the misguided.

Beirut. June 4--October 25, 1982

## “MIHYAR OF DAMASCUS HIS SONGS”

*Translated by Adnan Haydar & Michael Beard*

### PSALM

I pack up my abyss and sally forth. I efface the lines of endless roads, open them up as easily as air, as dust, making enemies emerge from every footstep, enemies worthy to be my peers. The abyss shapes itself into a pillow. The ruins intercede on my behalf.

Verily I am death itself.

Elegies are my craft. I make my erasures and wait for someone to erase me. My smoke and my magic admit no eccentricities. In such a guise I inhabit the wind's memory.

I devise an accent, a sonority for our age.

An age which crumbles like sand and like zinc solidifies. It is the age of fleecy clouds which we call herds. The age of empty tin cans which we call brains. It is the age of submission, of mirage, the age of the puppet, the scarecrow, the age of the gluttonous instant, the age-of unfathomable decline.

Not a single one of my arteries links me with this age. I am dismantled. Nothing can put me back together.

I create a desire like the panting of a dragon.

I live concealed in the lap of a returning sun. I take refuge in the childhood of the night, leaving my head on the morning's knees. I exit and I write the chapters of my exodus, though no return awaits me.

I am both prophet and doubter.

I mold the rising dough of fallen time. I leave the past to its fallen self. I choose myself. I flatten the current time and roll it out. I call out to it. "Dwarf giant, giant dwarf," I laugh, I cry.

I am a proof against the times.

I erase my traces, the stains inside me. I wash the inside, leave it empty, clean. This is how I live, underneath myself.

Bleeding only nourishes my veins. There is no place for me among the dead. Life is my victim and I don't know what it is to die. My time is invisible, under watchful eyes: yesterday I entered the ritual of waves and water was my fire.

I am impulsive. Death follows me, crowding its winds between my eyes. We laugh together and I cry alone as the winds flutter my eyelashes—ah, clownish, crying death.

I know I am in the prime of death. I embowel myself in the grave's innards. The words I mumble taper off. But I am alive. The others know this. Not me.

I attack. I uproot. I cross over, I mock. Where I cross a cascade  
from another world falls. Where I cross, there is death. And no  
passage.

Here I am forever. My self fences me in.

## THE WOUND

### I

Leaves asleep under wind  
a ship for the wound.  
Ruinous times —  
the wound's glory.  
Trees growing in our eyelashes,  
a lake  
for the wound.

And the wound  
is in the bridges  
when graves extend,  
when patience stretches its limits  
between the edges of our love  
and of our death—  
the wound  
a beckoning gesture.  
In the crossing is the wound.

### II

And to the language  
of muffled bells  
I confer the wound's voice.  
For the stone, as it comes from afar  
for this withered world,  
to withering  
itself,  
for time  
transported in its frozen carrier,  
I light  
the wound's fire .

When history smolders in my clothes  
and blue claws sprout  
from the pages of my book,  
when I cry out at the day,  
"Who are you?  
Who throws you  
into my notebooks,  
into my virgin lands?"  
It is then that I glimpse  
in my books,  
in my virgin lands,  
two eyes of dust.

I hear someone say:  
"I am—  
the wound  
which becomes ,  
which grows in your little history."

### III

Wound,  
Migrating dove,  
I've named you cloud,  
I've named you quill,  
book.  
Here I am  
opening a dialogue  
with that noble  
centuried language.  
We meet in the storied isles,  
the archipelago  
of inveterate failure.  
Here I am  
teaching this dialogue

to wind and palm tree.

Wound,  
migrating dove.

IV

If only in the land of dreams and mirrors  
I had sea ports,  
if only I had a ship,  
remnants of a city,  
if only I had a city  
in the land of children,  
the land of lamentation.

I would have melted them down  
into ingots  
for the wound.  
I would have coined a song  
like a spear  
piercing the trees, the stones, the sky  
a song  
supple as water  
untamable  
as bewildered  
as conquest.

V

World decked in dream and longing,  
rain down upon our desert,  
rain down,  
but shake us!  
We are the wound's palm trees.  
Break off for us

just two branches  
from trees captivated by the wound's silence  
trees which nursed the wound  
through its night,  
trees with arched eyelashes  
and arms bent with care.

World decked in dream and longing  
World that falls into my forehead  
etched like the wound—  
keep your distance!  
The wound is closer than you.  
Keep your seductive charms away.  
More beautiful than you  
is the wound.  
And the magic which your eyes have cast  
into the last kingdoms  
has only been the wound's pathway,  
the wound passed over it  
stripped it of its deceptive sails ,  
left it without its island.



## THE LOSS

I lose my way.

I throw my face

at midday

at the dust .

I throw my face

at madness.

My eyes are made of grass and fire.

My eyes are made of banners

made of travelers

yearning to escape.

I lose my way.

I throw my face at midday

and its dust .

At the end of the road

I see my birth.

I shout.

Let the road and its dust shout out with me:

Good God

how beautiful it is

for my face

to lose its way,

to free itself

from me,

for me

to lose my way

brimming with fire.

Dear grave:

You mark the place

where I stop

and spring begins.

**STONE**

I worship this gentle stone.  
In its lines

I've seen my own face etched—  
my own lost poems.

## **THE FALL**

I live between fire and plague  
along with my language  
with these mute worlds.

I live in the apple garden  
and in the sky,  
in the first joy in the fall  
between the arms of Eve.

I live as master of the cursed trees  
master of their fruits.

I live between the clouds and crackling sparks,  
inside a stone, growing  
inside a book, revealing  
secrets, explaining the fall.

## DIALOGUE

"Who are you? Who do you choose, Mihyar? "

" Wherever you turn

there is either God or Satan's precipice,

one hell goes by,

another takes its place.

The world is a question of choice."

"Neither God nor Satan will I choose,

Both are impenetrable walls.

Both of them shut my eyes to the light."

"Shall I just trade one wall for another?

for mine is the perplexity of the all-knowing,

and my confusion is the confusion

of one who gives off light."

## THE DIALECT OF SIN

I burn my inheritance,  
I say my land  
is still untilld. No graves  
disturb my youth.  
Further than God or the devil  
I go forth  
(I follow a path that rises farther than God's  
or the devil's. )

I pass into my book  
along with a procession of glowing thunderbolts  
a procession of green thunderbolts.  
I cry out with joy  
"There is neither paradise  
nor a fall  
after me."  
And then I erase the dialect of sin.

## **KING OF THE WINDS**

Here is a banner which takes sides.  
It fraternizes with no other  
joins with none.  
My songs take sides.

Here I am.  
I bind up the flowers,  
I keep the trees alert,  
I flatten out the sky and make a pathway.  
I love, I survive it,  
I am born  
in my own words.

Here I am collecting butterflies  
under morning's strict orders.  
I nurture the fruits.  
We go home to sleep,  
the rain and I,  
in the clouds  
and in their bells  
under the seas.

Here I am  
unfurling the sails of stars ,  
mooring  
and anchoring.  
I crown myself  
king of the winds.

## **PSALM OF THE KNIGHT OF STRANGE WORDS**

He arrives unarmed, like a forest, like a cloud which cannot be warded off. Yesterday he lifted off a continent and moved the sea from its place.

He draws the back side of day. From his feet he fashions day. He borrows night's shoes and waits for that which will not come. He is the science of things. He knows them. He calls them by names he will not disclose. He is reality and its contrary, life and lifelessness.

Where stone becomes lake, where shadow becomes city, he lives; he manages to frustrate despair, erasing the empty space of hope, dancing for the soil until it yawns, dancing the trees to sleep.

Here he is, showing how extremities converge, chiseling on the brow of our time the magic spell.

No one sees him, but his presence fills our life. He churns it into foam and dives in. He transforms tomorrow into his prey and runs behind it in despair. Engraved, his echoing words: they fade out into loss loss loss.

His homeland, indecision—for all his store of eyes.  
He terrorizes. He gladdens.  
Disaster oozes through him. He overflows with scorn.  
He peels man like an onion.

He is the wind. The wind does not retrace its steps. He is the water. The water never flows back to its source. He creates his own kind. Starting with himself. He has no ancestors. His roots are in his footsteps.

He stalks the abyss, his stature is like the wind.

**Adonis**

**Adonis** (Ali Ahmad Sa'id) is perhaps one of the most important modern Arab poets today. Born in 1929, he was first educated in Syria, and in 1956 he moved to Lebanon where he wrote most of his poetry and criticism. In 1961 Adonis published his pathbreaking collection, *Aghani Mihyar al-Dimashqi*, framing his poems largely in the form of introductions to thematize the process his poems would undergo in history. Since then, he has published many books of poetry, including *Kitab al-Tahawwulat wa al-Hijrah fi Aqalim al-Layl wa al-Nahar* (1965), *al-Masrah wa al-Maraya* (1968), *Hadha huwa ismi* (1971), *Mufrad bi Sighat al-Jama* (1975), and *Kitab al-Hisar* (1985). He is equally well-known for his critical writings. Speaking from outside the tradition, Adonis is most famous for his three volumes of *Al-Thabit wa al-mutahawwil*, and of *Diwan al-Shi'r al-'Arabi*, as well his influential critical commentaries and manifestos in the magazines *Mawaqif* and *Shi'r*.

**Adnan Haydar** is Director of the King Fahd Middle East Studies Program at the University of Arkansas, and Professor of Arabic and Comparative Literature. Dr. Haydar has taught at many universities in the U.S., including the University of California, the University of Pennsylvania, Middlebury College, and the University of Massachusetts. He has co-authored and co-edited several books and translations, and critical interpretations of poetry and fiction. His many articles on modern literary theory and oral poetry have appeared in premiere literary journals in the U.S. and in the Middle East. He is the recipient of outstanding teaching awards from the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Massachusetts, and in 1991-92 was awarded a Fulbright Senior Research fellowship in Jordan and the West Bank.





## THE DAY THE EARTH STOOD STILL

### SOME SLEEP!

Some sleep! I wake up and  
Lucretia Borgia's mixing nasty  
tinctures by my head!

Some sleep! I wake up and innocent  
Iraqi civilians  
lie dead in a wheel around me.  
Babies lie on stomachs of mothers  
equally dead.

Some sleep! I wake up and  
American politicians mouth  
sweet nothings into my ear.  
I wake up and the world has changed  
color and texture and sound.  
Yesterday birds gathered at  
dusk, and car horns and sirens blew  
now it's the crashing of giant waves of  
fiery asphalt and distant  
winds.

Some sleep! I  
wake up out of sound sleep  
and the world's become  
transparent.  
Where genteel folk in form-fitting clothes  
roamed at will and made thoughtful decisions  
now I see wild beasts yowling and  
gnashing sharp teeth.  
Pterodactyls sail in a deep purple sky.  
Dinosaurs thunder. Prehistoric  
reality is as poignant as  
the reality of now.  
Only its footprints are bigger!

Some sleep. I  
wake up and  
things suddenly are the  
same as they always were.  
Sharper-edged but full of  
the same light. Shorter, but casting  
the same long shadows.

I go back to sleep.

9/14/96

## **A STARTLING GREEN LIGHT**

### **1**

A startling green light glowed in the  
western sky, sizzles of yellow light in  
erratic outline preceded it, something  
momentous was coming this way,  
something unannounced, irregular,  
out of the ordinary, divine,

starlings flew across our heads in prelude,  
babies sat up in their strollers and became  
eloquent,  
old men actually sat back in serenity and  
were wise, old  
women likewise,

the tension of time beating our  
backs like crazed slave owners  
suddenly eased, settled into its  
constituents with naturalness, took as  
long as an ant or  
string of ants across a marble  
armchair in the park carrying leaves,

a flash of brilliance, a  
promise with a freshness in the  
air as if a gospel choir in  
white satin had just  
stood up to a live microphone and  
sung a chord,

everything snapped into deep focus,  
foreground objects as

clear as way back, stronger than  
starlight, a tone

blew itself into pure existence like a  
noon factory whistle, but this one  
was soothing, didn't make black  
cats slink under chairs, but made the  
entire natural world relax, fall back  
into itself as if with a smile,

things became anticipatory but not creepy,  
suddenly the future was what was coming  
immediately onto the horizon right  
in front of us, not in some  
faraway mental gyration, every  
leaf-twitch became an  
annunciatory event, every  
creak of cedar or oak in the change of  
temperature from one  
degree to the next, every  
breath from warm to warmer, or to  
cool from neutral,

the world took on a fictional aspect,  
the light on the far horizon widened to a  
sound as of heralding trumpets,

even death became inconsequential-seeming,  
fear of it evaporated, bicycle wheels  
spun on their own,  
seeds germinated with a  
universal acceleration,  
peoples' concerns were as if  
burned away by hot poker held  
above them, taking only the

excessive dross of thwarted  
desires and overheated expectations,

what would have normally been a kind of  
apocalyptic apprehension, people suddenly  
frantic to put their lives in order or do  
that thing they'd been sacrificing  
in order to live day to day while  
suffering tragically inside, their hearts  
in constant pain and congealment,  
instead of this  
the anticipation only lengthened the  
breathing-space of the future  
indefinitely, allowed for  
everything to take place in its  
own rhythm, things  
popped into view and were accepted and  
assimilated without fretfulness or  
ostentation,

the light grew in direct proportion to  
a loving, firm  
voice of clear consciousness invading  
every nook and cranny and every  
conscious being in existence,

the light spread across everything in its  
path like the rising sun falling across  
city buildings and forest trees equally,  
equally upon  
penniless person awaking in  
anguish among tin cans and  
smashed bottles, and  
harmonized son or daughter of deceased  
parents who are as

calm as bees inside their hive  
doing their work,

this light that usually rises in the east and  
sets in the west was  
rising in the west now, inching up

moment by moment to fill the  
whole western sky, tingeing  
more and more of the  
darkness with a  
supernal radiance like a  
hush filled with portent,

like a room at night  
when someone strikes a match...

5/4

2

And the faces of our loved ones,  
filled as they are with love's radiance,

their eyelids like domes of celestial  
architecture floating on lakes,

their eyes, when closed, like the  
secrets of saints in the  
deepest chambers of their  
sainthood,

their brows like millenniaums so far in the  
future only the  
predictions of the passage of comets

can be made with any accuracy,

their brows like volumes of early astronomy  
bound in leather, printed by  
meticulous hand on vellum, in  
gold ink,

their mouths like the orations of angelic legions  
to whole nations of believers,

their lips like the golden roads  
Alexander the Great rode out on  
with populations of new knowledges  
happily heralding him,

they open their eyes like the  
bringing to birth of new  
stallions,  
and see the light from the west and are  
unafraid,

they see tents for centuries moved across  
shifting sands, nomadic  
populations telling the  
old stories, singing the  
old songs,

they see the annual migrations of terror and  
mayhem like a rainfall of  
silver spears  
and are unafraid,

they see the earth slowly turning in its  
solar revolutions  
bearing oceanic tides and



geologic rippings,  
deep fissures exuding gases, tall  
mountains wreathed in  
cloud,

and see the light arriving with its  
hands full of wonders,

its eyes full of worlds of even  
greater light coming into  
view...

5/4

3

When it finally came  
we didn't know what hit us.

We still don't,  
but it keeps us alive.

We can't even be sure it has completely arrived.

We can't even be sure what it is  
that's arrived.

But a colossal cloud of  
energy stood in the air,  
and a musical tone,

and tiny tendrils uncurled around it and  
rose their full length of  
green, and stalks arose  
bearing fruit and flower, and

animals cautiously stepped out of  
shadow into light, and  
shyness gave way to tentative steps and  
slowly became delight, eyes met  
and gestures affirmed  
what the heart knew, words were

attempted, preceded by  
musical sounds, words of  
assurance that what we all  
experienced was true, that

what we had anticipated had  
arrived, a

wash of light that rose from the ground  
and bathed each thing in glory,

little mouths working in joy of  
ant or butterfly, gnat or the  
larger, hairier beasts,

each stepping on earth,  
footfalls landing on generous earth;

motions of bodies both in and  
toward the light --

shimmering accelerations of

pure light!

5/5/97

## THE DAY THE EARTH STOOD STILL

1

A hundred cars crashed without sound.

A pin dropped but  
was not heard.

Nothing itched. No one scratched.

No thoughts crossed the mind  
the day the earth stood still.

No brick fell.

No leaf fell on pond.

No stone fell against stone.

No girl brushed back tears.

No cat meowed, no dog barked  
the day the earth stood still.

No one brought pasha tea.

No bear poked nose into tree trunk.

No bike skidded to a stop.

No ant twitched.

No fluff fell through air  
the day the earth stood still.

No window slid down or up.

No birds sang at dawn.

No pen scratched out a poem.

No pebble fell against pebble.

No horse shied.

No owl turned to look  
the day the earth stood still.

The day the earth stood still  
water didn't run backwards,

words didn't suck back through lips.  
Eyes didn't unblink.  
Love didn't get unmade.  
Nothing got left undone.  
No stone left unturned  
the day the earth stood still.

5/29

2

The baby-faced man folded his napkin just so  
the day the earth stood still.

The golden-haired alpinist made a small but  
fatal move  
the day the earth stood still.

The Sibyl, crouched behind her rude rock, foretold with  
accuracy and spoke perfect Greek  
the day the earth stood still.

The Sicilian locomotive engineer who always wore  
loud ties and spat obscenities  
had a lovely thought of his paternal grandmother  
as he blew the whistle and rounded a bend  
the day the earth stood still.

Two Persian oud players, executing a  
long and intricate run in perfect synchronicity,  
experienced lift-off at the  
same moment  
the day the earth stood still.

The Mayor of the small town of Dukret, Switzerland,  
stepped up to a bank of microphones to

shamelessly lie to the assembled press, and  
a ray of sudden sunlight blinded him  
the day the earth stood still.

A small, pale-faced chimpanzee peered into  
the room inquisitively just as Edward  
Negomo proposed marriage on bended knee to  
Samilele Zuwawee, who glanced up  
just at that moment  
the day the earth stood still.

A vulture of prodigious size flew off the  
railroad station roof to the  
collective amazement of the  
Croatian townspeople  
the day the earth stood still.

God's footprint could be seen as clear as  
day on the surface of the  
Mediterranean sea late afternoon to the  
astounded fishermen  
returning home with  
nearly empty nets  
the day the earth stood still.

And you came across the empty room  
touching the backs of chairs with your  
delicate hands, and your face came up  
close to mine and mimed the words  
with your lips that were going through  
my mind at the same time:  
*"The earth is standing still. The  
earth is standing exquisitely and  
perfectly still!"*

5/30

3

This very time and place  
assumed its primordial duration and  
spatial perspective with all its  
original wild foliage and all the  
stars presently above our heads not  
light years old as they are now, but as  
young and fresh as they  
were at birth

the day the earth stood still.

Matter just as it is (chairs, tables, mugs of tea,  
stubby pencils, extended floors, doors that  
open and close) strained at its  
confining molecular arrangements until it became  
a focus for the vastness of  
celestial influence, all material  
shapes outlined with

silvery rainbows ribbon-thin,  
voices singing in all the things around us  
praise-songs to their Creator

the day the earth stood still.

The conundrums of being (basic mortality, breathing  
easily, sexual urges, the urge to  
that which we *are not* or that which we  
*have not*)  
undid themselves like loosely-tied  
pinkish noodle-forms, and, as epic as  
the Red Sea in its famous unzipping,  
paved a way for everyone to see not only

their own liberation *from* the  
incipient madness of being  
but *into* the loving embrace of  
total effacement  
whose core is a light and whose form is a  
pure sound that comes before  
world's beginning  
and world's end

the day the earth stood still.

The glittering sky stretched in our  
heads and over our heads in the  
limitless air above our  
heads like a million story  
atrium of cloud opened onto  
vistas more spectacular than  
hallucination however benign and more  
refreshing than a swim in a secret  
Hawaiian grotto at the end of a long trek  
down tropical paths to  
nowhere in particular and  
everywhere at once

the day the earth stood still.

The Great Ones whose presence is so  
longed for and whose deaths are always an  
ark-shaped door in the side of a hill of  
dark rubble  
and whose words continue to reverberate with the  
poignancy of snowy egrets landing  
briefly on the roofs of farms  
just before dusk, white

feathery wings against night's fields,  
the saintly presence of the Great Ones  
filled the air with  
photo-realistic etchings of worlds of light  
and all the boundaries between  
life and death and the living and the  
dead  
dissolved

the day the earth stood still.

The day the earth stood still  
each living creature's words were deciphered,  
each living molecule of existence  
showed the secret crystals of its  
patterns on a cosmic scale that easily  
fit into the palms of our hands,

I was there and you were there  
and nothing was left to be revealed  
for the earth stood still as it  
always does,

for they talk of cosmic chaos and  
galactic turmoil, but from my  
garden in Philadelphia as the sun goes down

(as the lumbering globe turns away from the  
sun to plunge us in darkness)

the black cat in the house scratches at the screen door  
to come out, birds are calling  
polyphonically to each other before darkness  
envelopes them,



grass and leaves of plants and weeds  
flitter a little in the evening breeze,

and the earth stands still,

car-tires boom down the street at the  
end of the alley, or pass as  
one did just now with pneumatic wheeze,

and the earth stands still,

its windows filled with pictures,  
pictures pass, but the

earth stands still

beholding its movement with  
perfect poise and balance.

Swing birds,  
that perfect music!

All across the  
evening space of earth's stillness.

Sing as I do  
as the sun goes down

and the earth stands still!

~ 5/30/97

## LOVE'S ICY GLOW

Love's all I've got,  
roof over my head and the  
ground I walk on.

It's the space of light we'll all be buried in.

The sharp glass corners of the universe are  
shaken by the lightning flashes of love.  
Outside we see distant red and blue planets turning  
and they're held in their elliptical orbits by the  
force of love, turned on their  
axes by the  
swirling motions of love, spun round and round in love's  
dizzying atmospheres. It

drips through the atoms of matter  
like water through coffee grounds, making the  
perfect blend.  
We sip, our heads tilted back, eyes  
like flights of white geese,  
hearts like thunder.

It's love that calls to the soldier just as he's about to  
step on a land mine.  
He's saved intact. He trembles in gratitude  
three days without eating or sleeping,  
woven hard in love's web.  
It's love that blows another soldier into a million  
pieces, releasing his  
spirit in an ecstatic fusillade of  
death's fireworks, each  
spinning fragment a universe blown into  
space, his happy

spirit singing new songs whose lyrics, if  
understood, would make  
snow lift from the ground and  
return intact to its source, each  
perfect flake  
falling back into the fiery eye of love  
stretched out above the night.

There's no arguing about love.

It sizzles on the platter and draws  
blood with every breath.

It watches as stampeding wildebeests  
pour over the plain like water, their  
hooves making one  
single roar as of  
one hoof booming through the earth.

Love waits until the patient is almost hopeless  
then appears with no disguise, naked as  
ice, gazes directly into the  
patient's face to make obvious what had been  
before just an inkling, only a  
few notes on the keyboard,  
now the entire plenitude of sound held down with  
both hands and echoing to heaven.

It's the noose and the horseman and  
round clouds puffing across China.

It's the gourmet's laughing ground, the  
ultimate taste sensation that makes  
everyone glad.

It's thrown into the air like handfuls of confetti,  
each piece the entire air into which it was  
thrown, space within space,  
each glimpse of  
sky through these eyes the entire sky these  
eyes find visible,

each gesture given to us at the point of our origin to  
enact throughout our lives in four dimensions until our  
gestures are finally stilled,  
is the repertoire of love working through its  
routines in the

divine spotlight's rolling wheel  
that surrounds everyone

until love's purer stillness soothes our  
gesture's frantic angles into one  
slim repose under aurora borealis  
light curtains shivering endlessly  
in love's icy glow.

11/29/97

*Daniel Moore (Abdalhayy)*



*Untitled*, Halim Jurdak, engraving, 1972.

**“THE JAR OF THE  
SAMARITAN”**

*Translated by Paula Haydar*

**KINGDOM**

His kingdom is an ancient lamp,  
a staff,  
and a waterskin

At the mouth of his cave  
the sun leans,  
the stars find rest

**CONTENTMENT**

Since days began...  
To his fields every morning  
His shirt, the wrinkles of earth  
His shoes, the cracks of time

Since days began...  
To his house every evening  
On a wooden chair  
Holy bread and wine

## **FRUIT**

Beneath the branches  
harvest after harvest  
his eyes are on the fruit,  
and it doesn't fall.

## **STATE OF BEING**

On his pillow he rests his head:  
an open window,  
an evening haze,  
on a dried-out stump  
a black bird,  
clouds wrinkling,  
touching the red-tiled rooftops and the bells.

A silence wraps around the mountainpeaks.

## **METAMORPHOSES**

From the womb of roots  
he rises into mist,  
becomes a cloud,  
rain,  
the pollen of budding flowers.  
At summer's end  
He stretches straw mats for the fruits.  
He collects kindling  
and wakes the chimney.

## **FACE OF THE WATERS**

He plants songs in the snow,  
sows images  
on the face of the waters  
after long days  
the bread warms,  
the passersby satisfy their hunger.

## **THE SCENT OF THE TREES**

On a mat  
in front of his tent  
he keeps company with the night.  
He scatters apart,  
becomes the stars, the moons,  
and in the vastness of thin air,  
the scent of the trees.

## **THIRST**

He stumbles.  
He looks at his fingers,  
at the furrows in his hands,  
at his cane.

In his creaking joints:  
a thirst for sun,  
for fire in the hearth.



## **WEDDING**

In the winter of his years  
on a chair beside the window.  
Through the cracks  
the snow creeps over his feet,  
buries them,  
buries his waist and his neck,  
and he doesn't move.

He knows  
he is late for the wedding,  
for all weddings.

## **VISIT**

Iron ceiling  
Iron walls  
No window  
No doors  
Still,  
every night,  
bringing a flower  
she comes,  
and then she goes.

## **A MAN AND A WOMAN**

In an old house:  
a man and a woman.  
Year after year  
side by side  
night's companions.

They count the stars,  
they laugh.

Night after night  
they whisper together.  
In her hair he plants blossoms  
In his hair she plants fruits.

Between the two of them and the grandchildren:  
the roar of hurricanes.

*Fuad Rifqa*

**Fuad Rifqa** was born in 1930 in the village of Kafroun, Syria. He now lives in Bayt Shabab, an area in Lebanon noted for its breathtaking views, vast night air, and literary giants. He descends daily from his mountain home to the busy metropolis of Beirut, to the verdent campus of the Lebanese American University where he is Distinguished Professor of Arabic Philosophy. His most recent book of poetry, *The Jar of the Samaritan*, was published in 1995. He studied at the American University of Beirut and earned a Ph.D. in philosophy at the University of Tübingen, Germany, and is an important translator of Rilke, Holderlin, and other German authors into Arabic. He was one of the founders of the 1957 magazine *Shi'r* and has published numerous works of poetry.

**Paula Haydar** completes a Master of Fine Arts degree in literary translation at the University of Arkansas this spring, where she also teaches Arabic language. She has published translations of three novels by the Lebanese writer Elias Khoury: *The Gates of the City*, *The Journey of Little Gandhi*, and *The Kingdom of Strangers*. The latter earned her several honors, including the American Translators' Association Student Prize for literary translation in 1994, the University of Arkansas Press Award for Translation of Arabic Fiction in 1996. She has also been the recipient of a National Endowment for the Arts grant and has published translations of short stories by Khoury and Ghada Samman. She also teaches Arabic language at the Lebanese American University's Summer Institute for Language and Culture (SINARC) in Byblos.

## SELECTED POEMS

*Translated by Khaled Mattawa*

### A FRIENDSHIP

*-- For Adonis*

When I extend my hand toward you  
you only shake my fingers.

When your hand reaches out  
how can one hold only your fingers?

We were raised in innocence,  
and we sowed innocence,  
we who do not wish for past innocence  
or future innocence.

We are the children of that liquid trapped between two seas,  
the children of those who hammer at the wall until dawn and find  
gypsies resting against the other side.

A quarter of a century passes  
and we arrive to find Ibn Taimiya  
has turned into the head of a bludgeon  
and Al-Muwafaq cleaving rebellious slaves  
from the womb of the earth.  
The police of Damascus kick us

and the police of Iraq  
and the Arabs' American police  
and the English  
and the French  
and the Persian  
and the Ottoman police  
and the police of the Fatimide caliphs...  
And our families kick us,  
our naive, good-hearted families  
our murderous families.

We are the children of this madness.  
Let us be whatever we wish.  
What is between us is not trust.  
Between us is the throat of the bleeding flower.  
Between us the storm emerges  
from its elements...

I say: Let us shake hands.

Beirut, 8/4/79

## **TOWER**

Our cities shared their poisons with us,  
then suddenly, banished us to a cloud.  
We did not despair when we became fugitives...  
But we are no longer light as lightning  
to live in a cloud again,  
in any passing cloud.

In the morning we haul our crates to ports  
or to baggage belts  
in airport basements.

Where did you come from?

!

Where are you going?

!

How did you carry your heavy crates?

!

Did you know that the station was moved  
and that the train left twenty years ago?

!

Still, I will drag my crates  
and in the evening carry them to a room.  
I will climb my tower and enter  
    any room  
    any passing cloud ...

Belgrade, 2/10/ 1988

## **RAINY OCTOBER AFTERNOON**

No fishermen here,  
the fish are naturally precautions,  
and the street grows desolate.

Except for my steps under an umbrella soaked with rain,  
the street is desolate.

The grass is near,  
the trees reachable,  
and the river barges (to complete the scene) are in fog,  
and the street (as I said before) is empty.

Let all the streets of this neighborhood grow desolate.  
Let all our haggard streets grow desolate.  
Let the morning restaurant grow desolate,  
and the committee  
and the bureau  
and the repairshop.  
Let all the banana republics grow desolate,  
and the almond republics  
and the rice republics.  
I will follow my steps alone  
under forecasted rain  
and I will remain a prisoner,  
a prisoner ,  
a prisoner of the next country that will shelter me.

Belgrade, 21/10/ 1988

**1989**

Vladimir Ilich,  
what is wrong with this evening?  
Which flags will rise tonight in the square?  
Which Caesars will come donned in togas?  
Which women will wake in the morning  
to bells from abandoned churches.

Vladimir Ilich

as you prepared your treatises in exile  
did you arm these sixty five years  
with a hatchet for our banishment?  
And as you built the Soviet of God  
did you plot these sixty five years  
with a millstone  
a spearhead  
and a horse?

Tunis, 24/7/1990

## KOOFA

We did not name it so that it would become a city.  
We came to it thirsty,  
starved,  
limping on blazing sands,  
blinded by sun glow.  
We cut the world from Mecca to the palace of Na'aman.  
We cut the world with a sword  
until bone protruded through our hands and whitened.  
When we reached water we said  
let us rest here  
and watch the bank  
where water pours, flows, and pours.  
We dipped our swords in it.  
Trembling, we sheathed our hands  
and prayed.

We did not name it so that it would become a city.  
We built nothing except the mosque,  
the wall and the hut of Ali.

But the first century is no longer the first.  
Here we are now leaving it  
H  
U  
N  
G  
from  
the gun barrels of tanks.

Amman, 27/6/1993



## TRYING TO FLEE

How can I travel to Tangier this evening?  
(In the evening one remembers his best days) .

A street with a name unknown to me,  
a border I did not cross,  
a shirt I wish I had unbuttoned.

The garden is dried up  
and the evening here is lonely.  
The stars fluttering above are blue in their cold.  
How can I travel this evening?

How can I travel to Costa Rica,  
(at night one remembers his sweetest friendships) .  
I have a friend there  
who gathers his identity papers everyday  
to read in them the country he never loved...  
the country he may have loved,  
the country where everything is ash...  
How can I travel this evening?

How can I travel to my room this evening  
(at night one remembers his calmest places) .  
I have never had, if you want the truth, a house or a room,  
but I need the place where only my pulse can enter,  
where the air is unlike this air,  
a room that is never lighted,  
never overtaken by darkness,  
a room in space...

How can I travel this evening?

Amman, 6/3/97

## MEETING A MAN

Deep in the fog of my shy city  
I found you among carts and streetlights.  
Sad, I see you here.  
Happy, I see you here,  
and in your eyes I see a child's face,  
pure like sea birds on a joyous evening.  
You taught me hatred and love;  
you taught me to worship the masses.

A breeze wafted and you left  
along with carts and night.  
Goodbye.  
Steps scattered and spread a shadow between us  
deep into the fog of my distant city.

Basra, Winter 1955

## NIGHT FUGITIVE

Everything rises now from the drowned past  
on this night in May

with a candle, wind,

two books and an old pair of trousers.

This is how it is:

The candle shakes lightly

and the shade of the date palms turns green.

A ship on the river

nears land

little by little.

This is how it is.

The stars sent blue flickers

like your eyes.

It is the turbulence in the depth of sorrow.

This night in May will pass, my friend,

with two books and an old pair of trousers.

Will you return safely one day,

a dove on your chest?

Everything rises now from the drowned past.

It has been two years

and he has not returned.

One day the child will throw his arms around us.

He will come with two books

and a new pair of trousers.

He will always return safe.

Basra, 1956

## **IN THEIR HANDS**

And when you are thrown from you room  
startled, and your ribs bruised,  
blue like the dead  
on a black night

murdered

think of Basra  
think of what we love  
and what we sing of from the heart,  
sun, bread, and love

Think with Basra

## TO SOCIALISM

On the snow  
winter wrapped its coat around itself.  
The winds  
were mad,  
their gales shaking  
as if wounded by the cold air.  
And there  
on the course of their ship  
was my heart,  
and Petersburg,  
and wind.

I open my heart to sunlight.  
I will forgo it for your earthly face.  
O seed,  
when your planter is ready to sow,  
you burst out of his songs.

8/6/58

## **THE MURDERED WALK AT NIGHT**

They awake at night,  
their white eyes forever open wide.  
In the city, even in narrow alleys,  
they walk, their shrouds revealing their limbs.  
They walk. Their mouths are orchards of lead,  
singing, and the alleys resound.

We hear them when the children shiver.  
No other voice can sound this wild despair.  
A voice that knocks on doors and burns  
like a bird crossing the valley of death and flowering.  
May ends, and from the waves of its banners  
blood will gush, startling a dozing nation.

Baghdad, 2/9/ 1960

## IN THOSE DAYS

On the first of May I entered Central Prison  
and the Royal Officers registered me a communist.  
I was tried, as was the custom then,  
and my shirt was black with a yellow tie.  
I left the hall followed by the soldiers'  
blows and the derision of the judge. I had  
a woman and a book of palm fronds. In it I read  
the first name. I saw holding cells  
filled with lice, others filled with sand,  
others empty except for my face.  
When we ended up in the imprisonment that has yet to end  
I vowed "This heart's yearning will not end."  
You who will reach my family, tell them it will not end,  
the night we spend here and the morning that has risen over Baghdad.

I celebrate this night with the moon visiting  
from behind bars. The guard has slept, and the breathing  
of the "abandoned" is weighed with the humidity of Shatt Al-Arab.  
The visiting moon turns toward me. I am humming  
in the corner of the holding cell. "What have you brought me  
in your eyes? Air I can touch? Greetings from her?"  
The visiting moon enters through the bars, and sits  
on the corner of the cot covered with my black blanket.  
He holds my palm. "You are lucky," he says,  
and leaves. In my hands I hold  
a key made of silver.

All songs disappear except people's songs.  
And if a voice can be bought, the people will not buy it.  
Willfully, I forget what is between people and me.  
I am one of them, like them, and their voice retrieved  
on the third of May. I saw six walls crack.

A man I knew entered through them wearing  
workers' clothes and a black leather cap.  
I said: I thought you had left Wasit;  
your name is among the first on the list.  
Did you not volunteer to Madrid? Did you not fight along  
the revolution's ramparts in Petrograd. Were you not killed  
in the oil strike? Did I not see you in a papyrus thicket  
loading your machine gun? Did you not raise  
the commune's red flag? Did you not organize the people's army  
in Sumatra?  
Take my hand; the six walls may collapse  
at any moment. Take my hand.

Neighbor who believes in the strange star at home,  
neighbor, life's nights echo "You are home."  
How long we have traveled and the heart still aims for home!  
Neighbor, do not stray. My path leads to Baghdad.

31/3/1973



## **DAYS OF JUNE**

In a sour morning a soldier grabs his rifle  
and smashes it on a tree.  
In a sour morning, Khalil Hawi grabs his rifle  
and smashes it on his head.  
In a sour morning, S. drinks his tea alone.  
This is how these sour mornings pass, living tissues leavening,  
the sun a muddle,  
the sea fogged up,  
and the record spins around itself  
like the newspapers  
like the PLO  
like water  
and civilian planes  
and anti-Marxist think tanks  
and the ideal methods for two bodies to join.  
The tree near my window has no wish to spin.  
The sea has no wish to soften into green.  
The passersby have no wish to walk on.  
And I stutter here in secret like a swing  
seeking water in the trees,  
hoping the sea will soften into green,  
the sea that will rise to my window.  
I will move lightly then to spinning terraces.  
What makes the noon light glow this way,  
heavy with vapors and empty bullet shells?  
Who invited one of the enemy's colonels  
to sit on the low chair?  
Who taught the pig how to eat flowers?  
And this roaring from Palestinian skies—  
is it bearing the rockets of judgment day?  
Noon is hot and bloated  
like a ram tied to a ragged tree.  
Noon shuts the inflamed eyes of a dog.

Noon stretches on the sea  
like a whale that has been dead for days.  
And in the emigrés thousand-story hotels  
the smells of winter socks  
milk  
vegetable oil  
and distant fields.  
Noon throbs  
and when the jet fighters pass by  
roaring  
a small vein throbs  
between my temples and eyes,  
and this small space between the cigarette  
and the ashtray throbs.  
When the planes pass by  
pieces of shrapnel lodge in the soul.  
Then it becomes  
the spirit of a counterfeit god,  
an Israelite god,  
an ugly god.  
I do not want to see you on another evening.  
I want to see you this evening, this evening only.  
The boat like a warship,  
the warship like a warship.  
There is the tree and there is the warship.  
Maryam's cape and a warship.  
The evening alone with a warship.  
Isn't she the one who slipped away from Cherbourg one evening  
to cross the Gibraltar strait while an Arab king watched her?  
This evening is red. Is it Dante's cloud?  
I want to see you this evening  
To the thirty shells per minute,  
to the houses that crumble,  
to the eyes that look out or grow dim,  
to the strewn graves,

to the saplings choking in ash,  
to the refugee camp isolated like an island nation,  
we draw a circle,  
we draw a fumbling nation  
then insert them  
into the air of the trenches.

Beirut, 15/7/1982

**Saadi Youssef** was born in Iraq in 1933. He completed his higher education there. He has taught in Algeria and worked in journalism in several Arab countries. His works include 15 volumes of poetry, a novel, and translations of Whitman, Cavafy, Ritsos, and David Malouf. While recognition to his poetry was slow in coming, Youssef is now considered, with Adonis and Mahmoud Darwish, one of the quintessential living poets in Arabic. His importance is affirmed by the many young poets who have claimed him as their major influence. Youssef's poems attempt to preserve the dignity of personal experience despite, and within, a context of difficult sociopolitical realities. In her anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry, Prof. Salma Khadra Al-Jayusi has described Youssef's poetry this way:

[His] greatest attribute as a poet has been his capacity to speak in direct and simple yet highly poetic terms about life's constant routine and day-to-day experiences, subjects which many other Arab poets shun. His poetry abounds with the sights, smells, colors, and movement of life around him, depicting scenes of great familiarity and intimacy. This is a great achievement in the face of the rage and fury and technical complexities of much of the other poetry written by his contemporaries.

One of Youssef's major themes is exile, an experience that he has lived through most of his adult life—in Kuwait, Algeria, Lebanon, Cyprus, Yugoslavia, France, and now Jordan. Throughout his years of exile and in the various places he traveled and lived, Youssef—like his mentor Ritsos—wrote daily, thus fixing the writing of poetry as his emotional home. The poems look out to the world, yet they are spoken from the awareness of the poet's calling, and thus they possess a sense of personal centrality even as the outside seems intent on shattering the individual person who has to keep moving. The poems are dated and their place of writing is also mentioned. In doing this Youssef reclaims himself—his past, his present condition, his readings, and his previous writings as—the center, fleeting and illusive as it may seem, from which his poetry comes.

**Khaled Mattawa** is the author of a book of poems, *Ismailia Eclipse* (The Sheep Meadow Press, 1995), and the translator of two books of Arabic poetry, Hatif Janabi's *Questions and Their Retinue* (U. of Arkansas Press, 1996), and Fadhl Al-Azzawi's *In Every Well A Joseph Is Weeping* (Quarterly Review of Literature, 1997). He was recently awarded a Guggenheim fellowship for 1998.

**VISION  
OF AL-`AMIRIYYA SHELTER**  
*Translated by Clarissa C. Burt*

Her kohl is of the ash of al-`Amiriyya Shelter.  
Her adornment is of blood  
For which she gave her ample bed in trade.  
Al-`Amiriyya Shelter gives her what she coveted  
Of the sumptuous plumage of emperors—  
Burning meat;  
She laid out her tables to temple prostitutes,  
    who thank the Lord of Hosts.  
Babylonian women are promised fires.  
The Lord of Hosts rips off their breasts,  
The Lord of Hosts kills their sons,  
Black stormwinds rip apart their wombs.

May Inanna be barren  
May every female be barren  
Babylonian women are promised fires.

There's no tree under which Inanna seeks shade,  
There's no fine fruit,  
No doves on the datepalms  
No fish in the Euphrates.  
From a crude jug of spirits I give you drink...

In al-Amiriyya Shelter a child is still surrounded by fire.  
Let fire consume his limbs.  
Toss those who protect themselves  
With the anthems of their grandfathers  
Into the Hell of our deligh—  
We see others dying of hunger.  
Babylonian women are promised fires  
From archipelago of promises the Lord of Hosts is nigh  
Women perfume yourselves with myrrh.  
Incense... and the liquor jug  
Stir up his storm and thunderbolts.  
The Lord of Hosts searches in al-Amiriyya Shelter  
for the secrets of these lands,  
for their youth, and the heir of their wisdom  
for multiparous Inanna...  
Grant him the delicacies of your bodies!  
Trade them for poisoned aromatics!  
Make love with fire!  
Chant, with clove obsequies from your grandmothers' heritage,  
Your wedding psalms!  
Trade the thorn of tombs for the blossom of joy.  
On walls melted by bombs  
I saw two heads from Guernica,  
And a heart, a lemon, dolls  
Sketchpads—  
I saw women gathering the body parts of their children  
And a child—  
I saw his torn limbs from the claws of the Lord of Hosts  
I saw an unborn child creeping on coals  
Searching for a womb.  
I saw lands  
Performing prayer on tatters of their noblewomen's silk clothes.

....

....

Rain turns to stone in the passageways, black dew  
And a cry carbonized in spirit.  
The muezzin was weeping  
As Baghdad carved the names of her children  
On the domes of her mosques.  
The eyes of the Oryx are targets of assailants,  
There's no more bridge between al-Rasafa and al-Karkh.\*  
Who can cross?  
Young women want riverbanks to fill their jars,  
and Oryx brings water to extinguish fire.  
Love is absent, a visit too far.  
Babylonian women are promised fires.  
The eclipse came on copper wings.  
Dragons gave it drink from what they had of aged concoctions,  
And what they had expressed of distillations.  
Between a dawn  
Set on a surface of my spirit's boundary stones  
And this depravity  
Cities eat God out of Greed.  
I will extend a hand to their injured sons  
Give them to hear what we have read  
Of the tidings revealed in the Cave of Hira,  
Of the promises of heaven  
A time to come...  
From it we have our children, and from poems coming  
From it we have our poor loved ones.  
A mother calls down blessings on those born alee of storms.  
In the earth's womb  
What she had hidden of treasures and trees  
Safe from Hunger and Fear  
Nigh unto first dew  
And morning white.

Remove us from al-`Amiriyya Shelter.  
Take us into the paradise of our days,  
Rescue our blood, reassured of its morrow.  
What remains of hell  
On the talons of the Lord of Hosts  
    is a tent  
        whose entrances sarcophagi have closed.  
These peacocks are naked,  
Whose feathers cover their tables' leprosy.  
Does one set free return to his Arab name?  
Does he remember God  
In a moment's heedlessness of his master's storms?  
Does a sense of peace descend on his spirit?

I doubt all poems.  
Was Socrates right?  
Did the murderer of our children  
See a dream one summer night?  
Did museums contain Matisse's trees?  
Was Mozart a child?  
I doubt this civilization  
from the "Sunflower" to "Women of Avignon"—  
from Van Gogh's ear to Dali's madness.

There is nothing but wax works... and wax  
Or Garcia Lorca's blood—  
And what the White Master killed of human flesh.  
Wars come one after the other—  
Rimbaud's poems perish:  
He sold of the Amharic women in Paris

what the Paris Commune and the love merchants had not sold.  
And the weeping of those who love him.  
Rimbaud's poems perish  
The dweller of the Elysee bartered them  
For markets opening their doors to French weapons.

There is nothing but waxworks and wax.  
There is naught but tabloid scandal, hidden cameras  
And detectives. I doubt all tables, bread and fruit.  
No Shakespeare was there.  
No Desdemona—  
Nothing but waxworks and wax.  
Nothing but al-`Amirriyya Shelter.  
Our witness when ages end  
Whose evidence is some burnt votive offerings.

Two Berhi datepalms are on the bank of the spirit  
A third in the vicinity.  
Between the Euphrates and its blessings,  
Mother of Sons perform ablutions,  
She prays.  
She welcomes the sprout, nods to grass.  
She prays  
She welcomes the sprout, nods to grass  
It follows her.  
It is God's sanctuary from the old on the banks  
Unto one lost in desert wilderness  
Don't despair—  
Babylon is full of promises—  
Babylon is full of promises.

*Hamid Sa`eed*

Jan7, 1995



## THE MERCHANT'S DREAM

### THE REVENGE OF THE ROACHES

We lived in this house for generations,  
survived famines and epidemics and our own civil wars.  
But this time the exterminator was manic,al,  
Napoleonic, cocksure of his power. First, he turned  
our dark dungeons and our parched tracks into a sweet  
cornucopia; and we lost no time hogging the treat,  
out of ignorance, out of greed. Death by honey.  
He then placed brown open boxes in the cabinets  
and the strategic corners, and when one of us slipped  
into the Roach Motel, he was clutched by monstrous  
glue and writhed for days in agony. Not even  
our proverbial will to live could deliver him  
from the inevitable surrender. No matter, we

multiplied faster than he slaughtered.  
And the exterminator grew desperate, and added  
to the arsenal his raw meanness; reassuring everyone  
in the meantime that the end of the war against the roaches  
was at hand. He turned out the kitchen lights,  
and walked out. When all was dark and quiet, and we sensed  
the nocturnal hour of the hunt had come, we raced

in droves to the counters. Then, suddenly, the lights flashed. Zap. We were ambushed. Terrible hammers from all directions pounded our heads, and a melee ensued and we scurried, in disarray, over this wall and down that sink, each fleeing to save his own skin. Many perished. Still, we preferred this kind of fight; the end came quick and clean, unlike the slow suffering in motels. He did not relent. Until one day

we exacted our revenge-inviolable, exquisite--  
as he opened the pantry and found three of us  
in a passionate embrace, three roaches, ménage à trois,  
copulating. Aghast, he slammed the door and sped out of the  
kitchen, and we resumed our dark pleasure,  
blooming like prunes.

## THE CONSOLATION OF GEOLOGY

*Whenever power leads man towards arrogance,  
poetry reminds him of his limitations,  
said J.F.K. in his dedication of the Robert Frost Library.*

Indeed. Whenever I think of the President  
and the White House  
I feel I'm no more  
than a rag of limitations,  
a plebeian with little to deploy,  
an extra in the movie of life.  
And, because the President is a man,  
I can't even dream,  
as an ancient soldier dreamed,  
of sleeping in the bed of Cleopatra  
the Queen.  
O for a flight aboard Air Force One,  
for bouquets of microphones,  
black tulips quivering at my every utterance.  
O for a day of consequential arrogance,  
for a sound bite to inscribe  
on the headstone of the President.

Calm down. Go, tend the impatience  
and host as in your expectant garden.  
Linger a little longer in the warmth  
of your kitchen. Stuff peppers  
and zucchinis; stuff them with rice  
and spice, with your minced machismo.  
Read those long-evaded car magazines  
and speak smart with your mechanic.  
Extract beauty from the daily spleen,  
and, in some elevated moment,  
mould it into a deep image,  
an accurate iambic. In short,

try to make a marvel of yourself.

I try, I do, but the words  
soon sense their handler  
is not a Frost or a Whitman,  
and start curdling on the page.

Haven't you heard the story of Diocletian,  
who dumped the Imperial throne,  
and became a contented farmer  
adoring his cabbages—  
all the pleas of senators  
couldn't lure him back to Rome?

Yes I have, but, you see,  
Diocletian *chose* to be a farmer  
after promenading for twenty years  
in the regalia of the Emperor;  
he also is the only Roman farmer we remember,  
and his is the only ancient cabbage patch  
we savor. No consolation in history.

How about geology; sometimes you seem to forget  
the equalizing force of nature's utopia.  
In a million years the entrepreneurial dust  
will incorporate all  
the presidents, names, and palaces.  
Toss away the tiny book of prayers  
your petite mother gave you  
to ward off the evil eye  
from her tall, handsome son;  
toss it away  
and arm yourself with an amulet  
charged with Jurassic dust.

Thank you, Sharif S. Elmusa,  
for extricating me, your insignificant other,  
who doesn't seem to know  
how to stop flagellating himself.

## THE MERCHANT'S DREAM

*Ward off Your death,  
our death,  
Scheherzade, whoever you are,  
spin for us another yarn,  
our ears are as expectant  
as the night.*

O happy folks, this is an echo, a mutation of a tale I told before;  
the publishers and professors have appropriated my copyrights,  
and the ears have changed, and so has the night.

Once upon a time, in the city of Thirdstan,  
a small merchant went bankrupt. Had it happened  
in his grandfather's grand time, he would have lit  
a large candle, placed it in the front  
of the store, and let the lonely dance  
of the flame signal his distress to other merchants.  
But the one hand now didn't wash the other hand,  
and, on his last business day, he pulled down the shutters  
of the store, locked them tight with heavy padlocks,  
thanked the Lord, and, head bowed, staggered home.

The merchant had many mouths to feed and clothe,  
and a few skills to sell. After hard search  
he landed a job in a quarry, cutting stones.  
He wasn't used to the chisel and the sweat;  
his hands were almost as soft as satin,  
and he had lost his stamina, sitting or standing  
still all day. And he pined for the times when his shop  
teemed with customers, teasing the fabrics,  
haggling over price more fiercely than nations  
over trade. He toiled for four years and a thousand sores  
on his hands and a thousand more in his heart.

He was on the brink of despair, when one night  
a Dream, in a deep direct voice, commanded him to go  
to the city of Autoville where a fortune awaited him.

*In your unhappy state, you've got no choice  
but to heed the voice of the dream,*  
his wife said to him in the morning.

So, he packed his bags and set out, hallowed by  
the well-wishers' prayers, tears and waving hands,  
Not leaving out of restlessness, for adventure,  
like the mendacious, well-bred Sindbad,  
he couldn't afford the thrill of shipwrecks  
or Disney Land *rocs* laying wondrous eggs,  
and prayed all the way for a swift landing in Autoville.

I must pause now because the rosy fingers of dawn are  
caressing our faces, and we're yielding to sweet, beguiling  
yawns. Stories, like love, need uninterrupted night.

O happy folks, where did we leave the merchant at dawn?  
Ah yes, in Autoville. There the natives' words limped  
on his tongue and, Thirdestan not being on the map  
of know-how, no one would hire him, except for  
peanuts-paying jobs, a cashier, a guard,  
a cab driver and the like. Time lapsed.

The quest grew glum, the fortune  
turned into gas fumes, and his hopes faded,  
like material badly dyed. He sought solace  
in women's arms, in the sad songs of Thirdestan,  
but it was more brief than a shower of rain  
over the desert.

All is foreordained, O happy folk—whether by God, social rank  
or the chemicals of the brain—and the tale moves on, mindless  
of the whys.

While loitering one Sunday around a church,  
he saw an armed robber hold up the worshipers,  
snatch someone's wallet, shoot a few shots  
into the air, and flee. In the melee,  
the police arrested him instead, subdued him,  
tied his cuffed hands behind his back,  
and sped him to jail. At the police station,  
before an encouraging officer,  
he poured the alpha and omega of his life—  
the bankrupt shop, the quarry, the Dream.

The officer took pity on him and, waxing humane,  
recounted a dream of his own about a treasure  
in a faraway land. It was foolish to heed a dream,  
he said, when we don't know if the dream is false or true.  
As the officer described the place where the treasure  
was buried, the inmate suddenly saw  
it was under the fountain of his house, in Thirdstan.  
He was overjoyed, and a stream of great happiness  
surged in his hardened veins.

Straight as a bullet—no meandering, no nymphs  
no Sirens—he repaired to Thirdstan. The treasure,  
unlike a wife, doesn't wait, must be recovered fast.  
He thought with his pocket's eye. No sooner had he arrived  
than he went looking for his house. Along the way,  
he chanced upon an old neighbor, who, after a gentle hug,  
reminded him always to thank the Lord,  
when He giveth and when He taketh away. Then informed him  
his wife and kids had gone, no one knew where,  
after selling the crumbling house for a petty price  
to a new bride and groom. While renovating the house,  
the couple told everyone, they unearthed a fine  
copper chest. They went wild, stomping their feet  
up and down the chest, certain the thing buzzed

with some ancient gold. Then they opened  
the heavy metal locks, and only found  
empty compartments, like hollowed teeth,  
like a childless house, begging to be filled.

*Sharif S. Elmusa*

**Sharif Elmusa**, Coeditor with Greg Orfalea of *Grape Leaves; A Century of Arab American Poetry* (Utah University Press). His poetry appeared in several anthologies and numerous literary journals.



## FRAGMENTS

*Translated by Susan Slyomovics*

### LIGHT AND FREEDOM'S MEANING

The weather changed:  
A boat sailed to distant seas,  
Time's compass burn'd  
And light swallowed what remains of the dear homeland.  
A plague came,  
The plague of exile dug into the earth  
Sowing catastrophe everywhere,  
Strangling light,  
And freedom's meaning was lost.  
The sea breeze whispers:  
A refugee bakes her loaf in the oven  
As the usurper keeps shouting,  
"Where is the key?"  
The voice rises,  
The sea breeze blows,  
She keeps the key to her house,  
And her father's new hat  
She carries in a bundle of clothes.

O Ship's Captain, return us!  
Enough of the usurper,

O Ship's Captain! Burn our exiles' clothes ,  
Gather our love letters  
And let us return at last.

The Captain shouted: "I can't."  
We'll never return again.  
Remaining in exile—dying bodies  
Looking for shelter in vain.

Light is cut off,  
All words, lost.  
Even freedom's lexicon, poisoned.  
Lovers' messages, delayed.  
Eyebrows burn.  
Lovers depart at last  
And in the dear homeland  
My grandfather's olive tree, steadfast.  
It's enough.  
Eyebrows burn.

## FRAGMENTS FROM A COMPLEX POEM

"Quiet." "Quiet."  
Voices whisper in the dark:  
"Turn off, turn off the lights."

I try to run away—  
In vain.  
I try to ask for help—  
In vain.  
My soul suffocating,  
A world of snakes watching me,  
My words drowned in the eternal, silent sea—

I bleed tuberculosis and sorrow.  
My crucified body screams in the palm of a rocky wind.

The rooster crows,  
Winds of illusion blow.  
The suffocating roar grows louder  
And the rooster crows.  
Our journey began  
At a time, at an unknown address,  
Turning us into numbers  
Wandering through the earth  
In search of an address.

O Ship's Captain! I beg your pardon,  
I live in Haifa  
Going without map or address.  
The time is evening.  
Haifa's streets are overcrowded,  
Too many sex movies,  
The suffocating din grows louder,  
Winds of illusion blow.

I search all roads  
For someone who is lost like me,  
A girl dancing a warm gypsy dance,  
To drown out this wooden bridge  
And all idols.  
Renegade thoughts kill us  
As I keep searching in vain  
The last that remains—  
A warm gypsy dance.

## THE PRINCESS AND THE POET OF EXILE

Drift in exile,  
Crucified by longings,  
Far from homeland,  
Ghosts follow me  
I run hiding—  
They appear again.  
I lock the door to my cage.  
Exile's heat tires me,  
Exile's climate burns me.  
My love, the princess, begs me,  
She sends me poems  
And prays on her knees.  
This dragon keeps following me.  
I run again, frightened by my fear.  
People don't see me.  
I shout: "For God's sake!  
I'm drowning, I'm drowning! "  
Cities of light reject me  
I am kept in the dark.  
No one hears me.  
I beg all the beacons of exile.  
They reject me,  
Each cursing me in a different language.  
I glimpse a beautiful woman at the street corner, she eyes me,  
I ask her for help  
To stop all the ghosts—  
She curses me,  
Spits in my face, shouting:  
"O you son of ...."  
I run into the middle of the street.

Like a madman haunted by nightmares,  
People pass each other

And the tide casts me adrift.  
At last, Sayyab the poet meets me  
With an anxious face:  
"O Abu Ghilan, you came late.  
I'm drowning,  
I'm drowning  
On Basra's shores  
Exiled from my homeland."

*Waleed Khleif*

**Waleed Khleif** is a poet, translator, and journalist. He has published two books of poetry, *al-Ayyam al-Mahjura* (Forsaken Days) and *al-Darb al-Samir* (The Silent Corridor) as well as poems in numerous journals and newspapers. He is a founding editor of the journal *al-Mawaqif* and, as director of the Nazareth Documentation Center, he has written books on the history of the cafe, literary circles in Palestine, and edited a book of selections from the pre-1948 Palestinian press.

**Susan Slyomovics** is an associate professor in the Department of Comparative Literature at Brown University.

## **THREE POEMS**

*Translated by Salam Yousif*

### **WERE THIS TO HAPPEN SUDDENLY!**

**Bayan al-Safadi**

If I open the cage  
I know that the sparrow will take off,  
    Spreading its wings in the sky.  
If I throw a stone in the lake  
I know that ripples will unfold,  
    One after another.  
I know if I open my heart  
    Tears will fall from it  
    And kisses  
    And songs.

But...  
What will I do when they grab me  
And say, suddenly: "You are free!"  
Then, Oh my God!  
What will I do with freedom?  
I think I would look into her eyes  
like an idiot  
Just...look into her eyes!

## **BOOKS**

**Jamal Jum'a**

In every pen  
A book is imprisoned

Exile is a book  
in an always different language

Some people are  
Plagiarized books

Ignorant, tyrants stand  
Before the book of the people

I AM: the dictator's only book,  
Which he reads every day

My father climbs the palm tree line by line  
Until he gets to the cluster of meaning

Some books are like the phoenix  
They rise up younger and stronger  
from the ashes

The executioner's sword is  
The sultan's favorite pen  
For writing history

**DOUBT**

**Muhammad Sa`id al-Saggar**

I accuse the objects  
I accuse the picture and the sound  
And the list of names.  
I accuse the polished thoughts in conferences  
And the news lab.  
Since they broke into the heart  
And stained Mesopotamia's memory with blood  
And trampled on the poets' dreams  
I've surrendered myself to  
And my memory to erasure.



## **THE WASHING MACHINE**

It was the third appointment I had made with the washing machine repairman when the army sealed off my street. I was on my way home from the temporary offices of the university in plenty of time. Last month, when my washing machine broke with a disgruntled gasp, I had been thrown off guard, returned to the possessionless past when I first arrived in Ramallah, a hilly town which delighted, and then puzzled, my flattened Midwestern heart.

I had come to Ramallah to pull myself together: on my thirty fifth birthday, I had felt frayed and had decided to take up a profession. I chose TEFL, teaching English as a Foreign Language, even though it sounded like an answer on a game show. When I skimmed the international advertisements, it was simple to select the West Bank for my first position: I was attracted to a place which had so many names, broadcast in several languages on various frequencies: the occupied territories, the administered areas, Judea and Samaria and, in a whisper, Palestine.

During the year before I acquired a washing machine, my apartment was dotted with blue plastic tubs full of wet, cold, heavy clothes. Jeans lurked under dark water like leaden gar fish in a Texas canal; socks and cotton tops stained the water with their bright American discount colors. The day I bought

the washing machine from Howard, a departing foreign mathematician who had grown tired of teaching amid the untouchable boys and the ceaseless interruptions of demonstrations and strikes, I felt things were falling into place.

When I saw the two army jeeps straddled across the road, my heart sank. I had been so pleased when the washing machine man, sitting in his cluttered shop and bending his head like a bewildered bird, finally understood my broken Arabic. I knew the words for "problem" and "afternoon"; I didn't know the word for washing machine. Discouragement settled around me as I saw my house trapped between two army checkpoints. I had felt this way before.

A young soldier with narrow eyes flapped his arms at me like a sour woman in a chicken yard: "Go away. Forbidden." I retreated to the broken sidewalk and stood behind a parked vegetable truck embellished with cheerful decals of winking yellow eyes. Two girls in their school uniforms peeked from a gloomy doorway.

"What happened?"

"Molotov," the taller girl said shyly. She giggled and her budding breasts strained against her green-checked school uniform. She rested her arm on the smaller girl—still round and stubby with mother love—and added: "Curfew."

I understood both words. I pointed across the street: "My house," I said forlornly. "I want to go to my house."

The soldier screeched and we retreated further behind the truck. We exchanged names. Leila, the older girl, overturned a crate and a few puckered eggplants dribbled to the ground. She offered me a seat.

"Which do you like better, America or Palestine?"

I was used to this question; recently an old lady riding besides me in a cramped Mercedes taxi settled her embroidered dress around her and, her hand on my knee, asked me the same question. She had spent the winter in a Chicago suburb and had come to the conclusion that there was nothing to do or see in

America.

Nonetheless, I felt awkward. My friend Pat excelled at answering these ritual foreigner questions: she was always both politically correct and amusing. She ended up being invited to tea in many places, and, inexhaustibly warm and curious, she went. I, on the other hand, tended to retreat.

"Palestine is a sweeter country," I answered, searching for conventional phrases in Arabic as intensely as I did the reverse in English, "and the people are very good. Of course, there are a lot of problems. The occupation bothers everyone." I didn't feel up to tackling America so I asked: "Did you go to school today?"

The latter was not a ritual question: although we were in a brief interlude between school closures, each day the soldiers cruised by the playgrounds, their bullets and teargas on display instead of dirty pictures and glassy capsules.

"Today, there was no school. Demonstration." Leila explained succinctly. She began to giggle again, and whispered to her sister. Leila reminded me of my friend Rosalie in fifth grade: her green eyes flashing, Rosalie commanded attention and loyalty. She was always in trouble for smart remarks, while I kept winning prizes for doing the largest number of book reports in school history.

The soldier waved back a battered Peugeot that wanted to pass by the checkpoint. He still looked harried I looked up at the windows of my apartment: I could see the faded blue flowers on the underwear I had hung up to dry.

"You're a foreigner. Go ahead, try and cross the street. *Yalla*. Leila patted her a shiny hair, bedecked with small blue plastic barrettes shaped like ducklings, holding back womanhood with their charm. She spoke with authority and I decided she might be right: foreigners were often invisible to soldiers.

I sauntered across the street trying to look American, carefree and untouched, reviewing the words for "army" and

"street" so that I could telephone the washing machine repairman. The day had a hint of cold rain in the air. I wondered if a clean towel might lie forgotten among my sweaters.

I pretended I didn't hear the soldier half-heartedly ordering me to stop: I had learned that if noticed, foreigners often quickly passed out of soldiers' range of vision, like short-lived phenomena studied only by eccentric scientists. I was so busy not hearing the soldier that the sounds of another jeep roaring to a halt, the plunk of a stone against metal, and a rapid crackle of shots seemed at first calculated distractions until I saw the girls darting away, checkered minnows in the corner of my eye.

"PLO, ISRAEL NO," shouted Leila, her sing-song English sounding of the schoolrooms. She slopped 'to pick up another rock, her small blue ducklings suddenly in the line of fire. "Run," I shouted, forgetting that her English probably extended only to chants. "Run," my voice cracked, the cry of an ancient child in a playground.

The soldier fired and I closed my eyes; to be witness seemed to give approval. When I opened my eyes, there was no bloodied young girl's body, the small curves hardening fast into nothingness. Leila and her sister were gone and I started to cry. "You made this, YOU made this," the dead-eyed soldier was shouting near my ear. I silently corrected his English: a confusion between do and made was common in the English of both Arabic and Hebrew speakers and before my washing machine broke, I had caught myself saying "I made the washing." I noticed he had grabbed me by my elbow. His grip was unpleasant.

When he dragged me toward the army truck, its door dangling open, I began to feel scared. "I am detained," I thought, in the phrase a lanky English biologist with an interest in the law taught me is correct, because "arrested" implies a procedure, rather than just being hauled away by a sour, highly irritated soldier. I wished someone would run across the street

and put the prisoner's staples, chocolate and cigarettes, in my pocket; even though I learned to smoke only recently and generally confined it to protracted sieges of the university. I felt unprepared: even my clothes were already dirty.

As the jeep bumped along the street, I wondered when someone would notice I had vanished. I was aware of the peril. and injustices meted out to single women, but I had not noted before how easily we could vanish. Even the university was so irregular these days that my absence would not be commented on, expect for one snotty colleague in the English Department, who would issue a few small slanders. I looked at the soldiers faces, and realized I didn't know how to read them. I wanted to be rescued.

\* \* \*

The phone rang in Toufiq's like an alarm set at the wrong time. He had eaten too much for lunch and he was weary from the drawnout morning, weary of events of all sorts. He wanted to rest a long time, through the cool afternoon and chilly night, under the heavy quilt his wife insisted on using. He was weary of being calm, rational and responsible when it didn't make any difference.

When he picked up the phone, he recognized the monotonous ring of crisis and remembered he was a lawyer. "Toufiq, it's John. Soldiers arrested Annie from the University and took her to the police station. Can you come?" John's voice trilled with pleasurable excitement.

Toufiq's voice was small and distant. "I don't think it would be useful for me to come now. Go to the police station and call me later if they don't release her." He hung up and reached for the edge of the quilt, disturbed. He knew he had disappointed John, dampened his pleasant sense of crisis and moral urgency with realistic advice. Toufiq didn't believe in making empty gestures.

Toufiq recalled Annie vaguely, a thin, restless woman who read too many books and had been to many places. A few

years ago, he had enjoyed the predicaments of foreigners and enjoyed helping them as they stumbled through checkpoints, mislaid visas, were refused work permits and had their birthday parties broken up by soldiers. But now their crises, pursued vigorously with both the relentless efficiency of the West and the relentless passion of its small left-wing, seemed beside the point, an unwanted sideshow. "Foreigners are tiring," Toufiq thought turning his head against the pillow. "And anyway, she will be released soon. They always get out."

\* \* \*

"They never hold foreigners for a long time," I held the thought like a hot water bottle as I sat on a peeling gray-green bench outside the interrogation room at the police station. I was beginning to miss my soldier: I had felt deserted by my only acquaintance when he strode up the steps to report his capture to the police captain, leaving me surrounded with teenage soldiers who bombarded me with questions: "Are you from NBC? Do you speak Arabic? Are you a Christian?"

I shook my head repeatedly, denying everything. In the corner, a gray-haired soldier with round glasses sat reading a battered copy of *Pnin*; he didn't look up. As I was escorted up the stairs to the offices above, Palestinian men, trapped in the cell under the stairwell, waved their fingers out of the windowgrate, shouting for newspapers.

Across from me was a poster identifying the wild plants of Israel. Next to it, a glowing poster of a schoolgirl cuddling a kitten provided some connection and comfort: after the army closed the University, the secretary in the makeshift office of the English Department had tried to inject some cheer into our shabby surroundings with several similar posters, although cats in real life mostly sat sullenly in the town's garbage cans. Two boys sat handcuffed together under the kitten. They were not foreigners and they looked like they might never move.

"Cigarette?" said a boy with a homemade sweater vest of a glaring lime green. It had a three small flecks of blood on it.

The boy's left ear looked strange, like a squashed snail.

"No, I don't smoke," I stuttered out the phrase, neglecting to add that there was an exception in case of siege.

"Foreigner," he said understandingly, and gave his cigarette a practiced drag despite the plastic handcuffs that fettered him to his friend.

The boys did not seem curious about the presence of a foreigner. They seemed to accept me the way they accepted the crazy police station, the men packed under the stairs, the Israeli police officers commuting from the coast to Ramallah each day to represent the law, the random beating, the uncertain nights, the certainty of their next destination. "It must be Dhahriyah," one told the other, "they send all the kids from Jalazoun there." Like kids everywhere, they have puzzled out the strange institutional logic of adults: if your name starts with A-D, sit in the first three rows, if you are a boy, carve a candleholder for your mother. And if you are from Jalazoun refugee camp, eventually, when they are ready, they will bring a bus and take you to a cell in Dhahriyah, a new detention center with an old purpose.

"You are from Jalazoun," I said, "How old are you?"

The boys hesitated and I identified myself, careful to explain that I was a teacher in the University. It said in some way that I belonged, despite my shrinking smile.

The boys answered. Yusef was fourteen, a year younger than Mahmoud, but clearly in charge of external relations. He carefully listed all the boys from Jalazoun who have gone to the University until we came to Rifiat, who took my introductory class last year. I remembered Rifiat, who tried to teach me to say his name correctly: in a classroom essay on nutrition, meant to illustrate prosaic vocabulary words, he described his mother making breakfast: the sharp taste of olive oil, the smell of baking bread, onions, and, to my delight, "eggs covered with wild time." I asked Yusef about him but Yusef only said: "the army is looking for him and he is hiding."

Yusef didn't ask me what country I liked better, and we begin an enthusiastic discussion of our favorite tapes of Madonna. We begin to hum the tunes softly, confused by each others versions of the lyrics. "Papa, don't preach," sang Mahmoud suddenly in a clear, sweet voice, firmly enunciating the P, which is usually a difficult letter.

The door opened with a crack. "Shut up, idiots," said a bulky policeman, holding a cup of coffee in his hand. The boys giggled. The policeman looked surprised to see me and I took the opportunity to ask him when I could see the captain. With a effort, I began the required litany: "I want to call the American consulate and I want to call my lawyer. I demand to know why you are holding me. I am an American citizen." I emphasized "demand" and "American:" the two words seemed to go together. Yusef and Mahmoud looked at me with some admiration. I was speaking loudly.

The policeman was no longer listening. "A quarter of an hour. Sit down." He has clearly said this phrase often. "Sit," he commanded again, and closed the door.

I traded crime stories with the boys. "Stones," said Yusef. "Stones," I said. " They think I helped girls throw stones." They looked at me and laughed, skeptical of my capabilities. I was not so skeptical of theirs.

It felt good to talk to them. It was the first time I had talked to boys this age for a long time. In the streets now, I tended to turn away my gaze, nervous for them and what they might be risking, nervous for me and what I might see and not be trusted. The standard street calls directed at foreign women had lessened in the past year: boys no longer lolled on the uneven sidewalks; they walked in small groups and talked quietly among themselves, making plans. In any case, it had been the younger boys really that were the most vocal: I was often rattled when an eight-year old walked close to me and said in pristine English, "I love you," sometimes followed up by an sing-song string of cursewords.



"Maybe you should just go in," said Yusef, pointing to the closed door. "You're a foreigner. Maybe the captain will let you go."

When Toufiq woke up, he told his wife about the phone call and Annie's arrest. Siham was folding clothes, smoothing an endless pile of crumpled undershirts. Toufiq began to fold as well, pleased to see his favorite pyjamas emerge. "I told him there was nothing I could do right now. Anyway, I'm sure she'll be released soon. n

Toufiq told Siham he could continue folding if she wanted to go out: in the afternoons, Siham was usually busy with politics. In the past year she had discovered a gift for mobilizing women, for sit-ins at the Red Cross, marches from the mosque or church and visits to the homes of the bereaved. Her quick movements around town, darting from house to house, sometimes made Toufiq feel cumbersome, like the heavy ornate furniture his grandfather had brought from Jaffa that sat heavily in the too-small rooms of his childhood.

"Maybe it's good for them, the foreigners," Siham said as she put on her jacket, "To get a taste of what it's like. But I hope she's not too scared."

\* \* \*

"You've been here before," said the Captain Kobi even before I sat down in the cracked green leather chair in front of his desk, "I know you. You've made trouble here before." He leaned back and a soiled ribbed undershirt showed under his khaki shirt. I wondered who washed his clothes.

His eyes were cold and I felt a tremor of guilt. "I've never been in the police station. You must be thinking of someone else."

"You're a Quaker," he said with assurance. His English, accented with Hebrew and a touch of somewhere else, invested Quaker with a a disgusting sound, like something wet under a carpet.

I understood. Several months earlier, a plump blonde

American college student, a volunteer at the Quaker school, was taken to the police station after soldiers stopped her when she was carrying a rolled up piece of poster board with the names of children killed in the last year. Perhaps to Kobi the resemblance was striking.

"I am not a Quaker," I said firmly, feeling like I was in a grainy old newsreel, with the young, sweating, Richard Nixon pointing his finger at me. "I teach at the University. I am an American citizen and I demand to call my lawyer and my Consulate."

"You teach at the University?" said Kobi. I had succeeded in interesting him. "Why were you with the two girls then? Why did you help them throw stones?"

Suddenly I remembered Leila and her sister whispering and giggling before Leila told me to cross the street. Had I been the classic diversion, the lady sent to turn the eyes of the Man for one strategic moment? Maybe I did help the girls throw stones. Maybe I was guilty.

Kobi began to smile unpleasantly. "Just tell us who the girls are. We don't want to charge you unless we have to."

I wondered why even singular interrogators were always in the plural. "But they're only children," I blurted out. "She's only eleven."

Kobi's smile became wider. "You know her don't you? Who is she? What's her name?"

It was time to become an American. "I don't know them but they were obviously kids." I repeated the magic names of consulates and lawyers. My voice rose as I reiterated my right to speak to my government's representative, who seemed to hover in the air like an angel.

The line to the Consulate was busy.

\* \* \*

Toufiq showed his lawyer's identity card to the soldier at the gate of the police station. "I want to see the foreign woman," he told the soldier, whose long dirty fingernail clicked

against Toufiq's picture before it brushed Toufiq's cheek as the soldier waved him away. "Forbidden," he said in Arabic.

Toufiq didn't want to speak Hebrew: in any case, the words were churned up inside him; it was always hard to pull one out whole and unbroken. He said in English: "But I am a lawyer. My client has a right to see me." The soldier turned on a small radio, and the news in Hebrew crackled out. Toufiq caught the words for "disturbances," "arrests" and "Ramallah."

Toufiq looked at his watch. After three minutes, he would repeat his demands to the soldier. The time beat away and he wondered why he had come. He had stopped taking cases in military court several years ago when he realized he no longer bothered to prepare his cases in the manner he had been taught by his grandfather, who, as he perpetually reminded Toufiq, had been judge in better times. Toufiq now preferred cases that could be resolved by deft and deliberate motions on paper: small property transactions, contracts, rental agreements, and wills.

A chubby soldier with rumpled pants arrived at the gate. Toufiq looked at him with distaste: he hated pants that were too short and the man's plump calves, exposed, were caked with dust and stained with bug bites.

It was lunch time for the guard and Toufiq realized he was leaving with Toufiq's identity card. Toufiq reached out to catch him and the chubby soldier, his mouth hard, pushed him away. Toufiq stumbled and grabbed the greasy sleeve of the uniform. The other soldier pointed his gun at Toufiq's belt.

"Am I detained?" Toufiq said. "I demand to know if I'm officially detained."

"You are officially an asshole," said the soldier, pushing Toufiq towards the stairs.

\* \* \*

"Have a nice day," said Captain Kobi to the Consulate, hanging up the phone with a bang. He looked at me accusingly, the traces of his farewell smile fading like a dried-up puddle in

the middle of his fat face. I had always tried to have positive images of fat people but I was not feeling very empathetic.

"You lied," Kobi said angrily, "you told the Americans we hit you. You know that's a lie. I could arrest you for lying."

"I didn't say that." The words echoed as if I had said them before. "I said when I asked the policeman why I am detained, he just told me to sit. You heard the word sit, not hit."

"We didn't hit you," said Kobi, "Yet. We didn't hit you yet."

Yusef offered Toufiq a cigarette. Toufiq reached out to take it, then hesitated, perhaps it was the boy's last cigarette. The-cigarette rolled under the bench.

"Stay," said Toufiq to the two handcuffed boys. "I'll look for it."

Toufiq peered under the bench. He didn't want to put his hand under the bench and feel through the dustballs, cigarette butts, sodacan tops and other bits of refuse that had clustered at the farthest corner. He spotted the cigarette and gingerly plucked it from the grime. A spider scuttered past and as Toufiq turned his head, he saw rows of names carved into the wide legs of the bench. Most of them were the names of illegal organizations, and Toufiq thought he glimpsed a flag.

The boys insisted that Toufiq smoke the dust-colored cigarette.

Toufiq smoked, avoiding looking at the soiled Marlboro.

- "Did you see a foreign woman?"

- "She's inside. I heard her yelling two minutes ago. Do you know her?"

- "I'm her lawyer."

- "Can you help us?" Yusef asked quickly. "We haven't confessed. Maybe you can help us."

Toufiq looked at Yusef's wrists. The plastic handcuff looked like the bands hospitals put on babies, but Yusef's wrists were not chubby; they were frail and complicated like the skeleton of a bird.

- "How I help you? I'm arrested."  
- "The lawyer is arrested. I should ask you if you can help me."

"There's arresting everybody today," Yusef sounded delighted. "Foreign ladies and lawyers. Next they'll be arresting the sheikhes and the cats."

Mahmoud began a helpless giggle, like a child whose mother relentlessly insists on counting his ribs. "They're arresting the cats," he managed to say after Yusef steadied him with a few pokes.

"We'll help you. Don't worry. We'll help you." Yusef added.

"How is the foreign woman?" Toufiq asked.

"She's nervous," Yusef said. "She can't sit still."

Toufiq shifted on the bench until his pelvis bones settled like a piece of driftwood on a beach. Being a detainee wasn't too good, he decided, but it was better than being a lawyer.

\* \* \*

Captain Kobi told me to go sit down for another quarter of an hour. When I walked out of his office door, wondering if I should say goodbye, I saw Toufiq, a lawyer who I had always found very polite and full of good advice but somewhat humorless. I knew his wife better; she had once told me the correct phrases to say to my neighbor, Um Ali, when her son was killed in a demonstration. She had added that the words didn't really matter; Um Ali would understand me. I wondered.

Toufiq looked a little silly in his dark suit on the peeling bench, like small old men in America who dress up to sit in the feeble winter sun. I was not very surprised when he told me he was also detained, but I was embarrassed that I had gotten him into such a mess. He seemed like a very fastidious person. I worried about what we would talk about on the bench.

"Captain Kobi is mad at me," I said in as sparkling a manner as I could muster, trying to entertain Toufiq, who seemed to be sinking. "He thinks I told the Americans that the

police hit me." I explained to Toufiq sit and hit, making wild gestures. Dick and Jane illustrations danced in my head: "Sit, spot or I will hit you."

I watched Toufiq to see how he gauged my performance. I wanted to be told I had done well. I wanted this to be a prison story where the clever prisoner tricks the bestial but inept interrogator. I wished I could tell it to the boys in Arabic. I was sure they would think it was funny.

Toufiq said nothing for a while. I hoped he was thinking of a way to get us out of the police station.

\* \* \*

Toufiq was reluctant to think about what should be done. It would make him agitated and nervous and he wanted to be calm, to sit on the bench with Mahmoud and Yusef and Annie and mind his own business. Annie smiled nervously at him and pulled at her ear; the gesture reminded Toufiq of a very young girl. Toufiq stood up and brushed off his pants. "I'm forgetting my part," he thought. It wasn't difficult to make a plan. He told Annie what they needed to say to Kobi and was impressed by how quickly Annie grasped the strategy: perhaps they spoke the same language. He took his tie out of his pocket, knotted it firmly, and knocked on Captain Kobi's door.

Toufiq identified himself to Kobi, who repeated Toufiq's name in a mocking imitation of Toufiq's own crisp syllables. "I--have been discussing your treatment of my client with her," said Toufiq, being careful to note the concern of the U.S. government and to raise the spectre of the foreign press. His hand went to his tie and he noticed his two fingers were dirty where he had held the cigarette. He looked at Kobi. "In the interest of resolving this matter, I suggest that my client will withdraw her complaint if you release her immediately without charges." Annie nodded in what she hoped was a constrained but dignified fashion.

Kobi burped as though he was trying to digest the words. As soon as the prison bus came to take the two boys outside, he

wanted to go home. He was tired and hungry. His digestion was very poor. Maybe it was better to finish with the foreign woman. But he didn't like how she spoke to him like a teacher and smiled when he made mistakes in English. And she might have helped those girls. Stones were no joke. He also didn't like Quakers.

"I think I should call the Consulate again," Annie stated. "I am sure they are very concerned."

Kobi thought about pink-faced American officials with crisp shirts and sober ties. The last time one came to the police station he spoke through a translator and refused to sit on the chair in Kobi's office.

"OK, OK," said Kobi, suddenly giving up, "You can go. Go home, wherever that is."

Toufiq noticed that Kobi had forgotten that the lawyer also was arrested but he didn't bring the matter up. He felt he should ask about Yusef and Mahmoud. "Why are you holding the two boys outside?" he asked.

Kobi looked up with sudden interest. "You know them? Did you talk to them? These boys are in big trouble. Are you their lawyer?"

Toufiq didn't want big trouble. It was becoming too complicated and he had been in the police station too long. There was no chance Kobi would release Yusef and Mahmoud. "No, I don't know them," he said.

"Then just get out of here, both of you."

\* \* \*

Kobi called the fat policeman to escort us out. He was still carrying a cup of coffee. I waved to Mahmoud and Yusef as we went out; Yusef smiled distantly, but Mahmoud looked as though he had forgotten me. I wished I had something to give them.

It was twilight outside: the olive trees were the same gray-green color as the bench outside Kobi's office. The chill in the air was more pronounced and I thought of lighted interiors

and steaming tea.

"I should have gotten the boys' full names," Toufiq said to me as we stood on the deserted-Ramallah street outside the police station. "I can't call about them if I don't know their names, they'll just laugh at me."

"Maybe we can find their family," I said vaguely, still thinking about hot tea.

A battered bus pulled up to the police station. Its windows were covered so we couldn't see how many boys were already inside.

"They take out the chairs," Toufiq told me in a flat voice. "The kids sit on the floor blindfolded. When the soldiers get bored, they hit them."

I thought of Yusef's sweater, knitted by some tired woman, and the small flecks of blood. "Maybe we should stay," I told Toufiq, "and wait until they put Yusef and Mahmoud on the bus. Maybe you can get their names."

"Maybe we should," said Toufiq. His face looked sad, remote as the landscape.

I brushed some RC Cola cans away from the curb and sat down, pulling my dust-streaked skirt firmly over my knees. I wondered if the checkpoints had been removed from my street and began to make a mental list of things to be done.

I was grateful when a light rain started to fall, tapping an irregular rhythm on the top of the bus, and mingling with the dust to give a hopeful smell. Toufiq asked me if I wanted to leave. A wet tendril of hair stuck on his forehead.

"I'm OK," I told him. "Let's stick it out for a little while." We sat together in the drizzle and waited for the two boys. I watched a woman on the veranda across the street removing her washing from the line strung across her balcony; her motions were exact and comforting. Watching, I almost missed the soldier pushing the boys towards the bus.

At first the boys moved like marionettes, jerked by the soldier, but, for a moment, Yusef managed to swivel free for a



second and walk normally. Toufiq put himself between the boys and the bus.

"I am the lawyer for these boys," he told the soldier, enunciating each word. "I only want to speak to them for a minute."

The soldier shook his head and ordered Toufiq to step aside and not to speak to the boys. Toufiq repeated his request. I scurried forward and began talking to the soldier in rapid English; I evoked international covenants and referred to the tax policy of the United States. The soldier looked at me and waved his arms, "Go away, lady. You don't belong here."

Toufiq had recorded the boys' names in careful script on the back of a matchbox before the soldier turned around and pushed the boys into the bus. Yusef yelled a last greeting to his family and friends before the door swung shut. There were rumbles from inside the bus, and then silence. It seemed wrong for a bus full of boys to be so quiet.

Toufiq and I waited until the hooded bus was out of sight before we walked away from the station. The streets were gray and empty; the town seemed drained of children. "It's like living on the moon," Toufiq said and I nodded. Turning the corner to my house, I saw that the checkpoint had been replaced by a burning tire so I told Toufiq I would see him in the morning about the boys and hurried to my house before the soldiers arrived.

*Penny Johnson*

## **THE LAND THAT BEARS US**

The doctor looked out the window of the airplane noticing that, from above and during daylight, Amman looked like an eruption on the surface of the desert's skin. Unlike other cities, the structures and roads that defined this place were uniformly the color and texture of the sand which surrounded them. The ground and the features above it shared a common substance. At night, this impression would change as illumination itself differentiated the urban center from the empty land around it. But in the stark day the sky met the pale land and obscured the objects between them.

In the United States, where he had lived for more than twenty years, the patterns of inhabitation were still clearly visible from 35,000 feet. Even above the small town where he lived, the ordered lines of subdivisions and farms made the land seem like a quilt of green lawns, braided cornfields and variegated houses. Neighborhoods defied the contours of the land, seemingly proud of their erasure of nature, apparently happy to adorn the palette of earth, sun, and sky. Even the farmers rejected the land's request, turning the soil inside out to carve the geometry of agriculture into it. The land above which he now hovered had no such evidence of human, stubborn pride. Amman wore the layers of sand like a funeral cloth, saving its colors for the insides of houses, private in a way

which foreigners rarely suspected.

The doctor prepared for his arrival, for the impending visit to the hospital. He had spoken with several of the physicians there over the course of the past month. His profession afforded him information that others had not received. Simply being a doctor, he could ask about test results and the answers were forthcoming. Information he was neither entitled to have nor prepared to know became his because some reflex or dark curiosity beckoned him to seek it. His wife and children had always been reasonably healthy so he had not learned this simple lesson. The ways of sickness are knowable to those whose lives are spent tracing it. Not even love protects them from knowing.

The doctor slowly made his way through the airport and breathed the dry desert air as he passed out of customs. His nephew had come to escort him, arriving in that same royal blue Mercedes which the family had owned for thirteen years. The boy was twenty six but retained the softness of youth. He had not shaved and the scattered patches of stubble gave his face an odd appearance, as if it were streaked with hastily applied stage makeup. He was thin and struggled with the single suitcase, using his entire body for leverage as he hoisted the bag into the trunk of the car.

The doctor watched the city rise before him as they neared the hospital. Faces on the street brought faint recollections as if he had known every one of these people and had merely forgotten their names. The sound of car horns punctuated every deceleration as drivers goaded those ahead of them to force theirs to be the single direction of traffic. Years of revisions in city planning had installed traffic circles, removed them in favor of perpendicular intersections and had now begun to forge a series of underpasses. The radio played a song the doctor had not heard since his daughter was an infant. She was married now and would not have even known the words.

"What have they told you?" the doctor asked.

"Almost nothing, but he's yellow and weak. They don't have to say anything for us to know. He asks for cigarettes and we give them to him like you said to do. I suppose it doesn't matter," the boy smiled slightly, only one side of his mouth curling upward. Passing drivers would only have seen the young man's grim face speaking, the smile hidden from them by its unilateral and fleeting nature. "He doesn't eat and drinks a sip of water every few hours. Papa comes to the hospital after work and says he sees his brother shrinking every day, but those of us who have been there for days don't see it. I suppose it happens too slowly for us to notice the little changes. Anyway, he looks different. Auntie cries in front of him.... "

"Let her. It won't hurt him to see her cry. He knows he's in a hospital so I suppose he'd be quite disappointed if that didn't make his wife somewhat sad. I assume he's still trying to finish some piece of writing or another, eh?"

Again the boy's half-smile appeared and faded. "Everyone knows you're coming so they'll all be there to see his reaction."

The doctor squinted slightly, humbly and silently acknowledging the sentiment. The family order as determined by age had been jarred by achievement and the doctor, though the sixth of the seven children, was tacitly accepted as the important one during the oldest brother's passing. His information about the secrets of breath and heartbeat awed them. The last corner of hope rested upon his presence, but the doctor knew the moment of the phone call that his brother would die a slow, leeching death. He and his wife maintained the quiet reverence for this fact even as he prepared to leave for Amman. He boarded the flight unaware that she had reserved him a ticket in first class, her gift to him of physical comfort.

The hospital corridors smelled slightly of cinnamon, not a testament to the hospital cuisine but to the camphor in the cleaning fluids. The doctor walked quickly through the wings, his hands touching his various pockets for important objects:

glasses, wallet, passport, pens. It was what he would have done walking through any hall after a long trip. He combed his fingers through his hair to mitigate the evidence of travel without rest and entered the crowded room.

His brother's eyes crinkled slightly as he took a long drag from the cigarette and briefly tried to recall the face in front of him. As he did, his arms spread out before him as if they were fleeing his body and he hugged the doctor. The man was seventy but the flesh which had filled his cheeks through passing years had melted away and now his face seemed comical, a thin, yellow surface from which a hawklike nose and a black mustache protruded. The man whispered his brother's name as if to confirm the traveler's presence. They spoke in half sentences, the family gathering around them as if in prayer.

"You've got time to just lie here?" the doctor teased.

"Truthfully, no. Still haven't finished that speech for the conference" the brother muttered, pursing his lips. "May not be ready by next month. "

"Not true. And the topic this time?"

"Jerusalem, what else?" The shadow of a smile appeared on the old man's drawn mouth.

Within three hours, the oldest brother slipped into a coma and erased the expression from his face. The doctor still held the tamped cigarette which had perched between his brother's fingers as the silence came.

What is there to say about the next day? The family waited. The patient's wife stared at the floor unable to look up at the bed lest she catch his final breath leaving. The others paced outside the door or smoked by the window. Phone calls arrived, at first cheering and then burdening the recipients. The nephew was joined by his fiancée, a sweet but plain girl who said she understood why their wedding would have to be postponed. The oldest brother's son made sure the hospital bills were going to be paid. The man's grandchildren came after school and began their homework in the lounge, quieted by the

silence around them.

The doctor spoke to his sisters, nieces and nephews. The women wept in his presence but spoke quietly when he left. They showed their sorrow but still looked well, the time of the oldest brother's illness having been amply long that they had only tears enough for mourning. The doctor approached his sister-in-law gently so she would not be startled by his address.

"He can't feel any pain now, " he offered.

"Does he know I'm here?" she asked.

"Of course," he said, unsure whether he was lying.

"How long will he be like this?" she muttered as she turned again to the floor.

"Not a long time," he finally said after considering several replies. When his brother died late that evening the doctor finally felt that his answer had been sufficient.

The oldest brother's apartment was congested with family by early morning. The widow was passed from sibling to sibling like a large child. Her eyes seemed to have melted slightly as the flow of tears drained them of their native gray. Her daughter, mother of the dead man's three grandchildren, sat mumbling like a catatonic. Her stockings showed a wide tear where they had caught on the leg of the dining room table as she collapsed in the chair many hours ago. Her husband had taken the children home. There were already enough men in the house to ease the passage. He would return later.

The one woman who was not crying, the doctor's niece, smoothed her skirt. She sat in the corner in a large upholstered chair, shifting somewhat uncomfortably as more people arrived. As a child, she had been told that she was very smart, her mother's consolation to her for the genetic gift of a thick lips and dark skin. She wore expensive clothes, a result of a London education and family indulgence.

She spoke to her young cousin with authority. "Well, the greatest difference is apparent in the variety of things available there. Here, we go to a restaurant and order tea and nobody asks

another question, but in London? The word *tea* is insufficient. You must tell the server what *kind* you would like. There are many different varieties. Some for breakfast or dessert and, obviously, those you drink at tea time. If you just say that you want tea, then you are considered an idiot. It's the same with chocolate..."

"Really? It's like that? What do they call the teas?" The young boy was trying to be quiet, knowing that frivolous speech would inspire severe looks, but he simply could not refrain.

"Oh, well, let me see..." she began, switching to English to provide the words. "Earl Grey, English Breakfast, Darjeeling, Orange Pekoe."

He repeated what he'd heard. "Darjeel, Lingorge Peku. "

"I'll write the names for you."

The doctor looked at his sister, the mother of this niece, as she cradled the widow's head. The black crepe of their dresses flowed together giving the impression that they wore a single garment. Their faces seemed to recede in daylight and the doctor realized that he could not recall the last time he had seen these women's faces without lipstick.

The doctor rose and went to the kitchen to join his brother, father of the boy who had fetched him from the airport. The middle brother stood at the stove, staring at the courtyard below. He had planned to make coffee, but the empty metal kettle dangled from his hand, its graceful long handle like a wand. His shirt had come untucked from his pants and hung loosely, bunching at the hem in small wrinkles. The doctor opened his mouth to speak, a courtesy to herald his arrival, but could think of nothing to say. He turned away, somewhat ashamed.

This brother had been the devilish one. The doctor remembered a time when his brother had spent his college tuition money on a motorcycle. This was after the war, after they had lost the house and the dairy, after their father had died,

after the family had begun to wither. The doctor remembered this brother's black hair luminescent with pomade and rising in planks about his face as he rode by the schoolgirls. The audacity of his desires was breathtaking. How could a man want things so much? The doctor remembered the elaborate story surrounding the efforts of his brother to purchase pineapple for an ambassador's daughter, a girl whose painted nails had drawn the ire of mothers and the admiration of their sons.

Pineapple in Jerusalem, the incongruity of the fruit and the climate never occurred to the young man. He had seen them in a film where Alain Delon fed slices to his reclining lover and concluded that he himself would be appealing in that capacity. So, storekeeper after storekeeper wrinkled his brow, wondering what the poor fellow wanted as the young man repeated the French word *ananas*, which sounded to them like the Arabic assertion, "I am people." Even in that moment, the doctor could almost smile at the recollection. The doctor spoke, his back still turned. "Do you need help with anything?" His brother was not startled. "The coffee? I think I still know how." "I was asking about the other things, the things with..." he began but realized he couldn't bring himself to name the specific tasks. They were so mundane and final.

"The boys will help. Sons become useful at this age. You'll leave again after the visitation?"

The doctor looked toward his brother and nodded. Despite his honorary position there, this family had asked so little of him. "Yes, I'll leave after that. "

He wanted to remind his brother about the pineapple, about the motorcycle, about those thousands of moments when they had been together as children, growing along a single path. But this was not the time. The doctor's only brother began the coffee and the sound of running water replaced the words between them.

The doctor walked to his brother's study to sit alone. The



old scholar's glasses and a newish pair of slippers lay where he had left them in an absurd testament to their own uselessness. On the desk lay a previous draft of the speech the old man had mentioned the previous day. The disorganized pile seemed to have been left there while the author turned his attentions briefly to another, simpler task. The doctor read a few lines, pausing briefly to consider the phrase, "the future of which will dwarf the unredeemed past."

The doctor scanned the shelves. The history of Jerusalem was chronicled from every era. Seventeen of the books had been written by the eldest brother. He had collected the history of that city around him in a life's effort to restore it to this family. No, it was not as simple as that. There was something more feral, an attempt to console a loss to himself. The doctor ran his fingertips over the spines of those seventeen, placed alongside one another like a company of soldiers in battle. He thought again of the desire for things, of the objects that fill lives.

On the walls of the study were several framed documents. A small rectangular sheet in a gilded frame gave permission for their grandmother to travel from Beirut to Jerusalem to marry their grandfather. She was sixteen and her father had approved the marriage on the condition that this small slip of yellowed, handwritten paper was forthcoming. A long document printed in brown script was the deed to the family property on which their father had begun building a house six months before the entire family fled in the night with nothing but the inlaid Quran which housed this document. Others of these ordinary papers had been recovered from pocketbooks and dresser drawers of the family dead as others sought to tidy up their lives. The oldest brother had turned each into a testament. Their history was in these scraps mounted on the wall across from a lifetime of books.

The doctor knew that his absence from the gathering could not be prolonged. Yet, he lingered in the study, raising

the glasses to his face where his own glasses already sat. The wall of books blurred into strips of colors and for the next few seconds he raised and lowered the extra pair of lenses to enjoy the distortion. Stopping the motion, he looked again at the books and saw the thin, yellow face of the day before. All these words and the scholar had still died in Amman. Jerusalem, less than a hundred miles away, would not bear his weight again even in death. The doctor pushed the slippers together and pointed them toward the door before rising to join the family again.

That night he slept deeply, despite, or because of, the day that had come before. In a dream he rode a motorcycle away from the hospital. Three generations of his family stood in front and waved. From the sky pineapples and tea tins fell as he rode on. In the distance his eldest brother sat perched atop the Dome of the Rock in his glasses and slippers, wrapping the gilded cupola in pages torn from an enormous notebook. Other pieces of paper fell from the sky and stuck to the mosque's doors. The doctor asked his brother, "What will you do when you are done?" but the older man did not answer. The motorcycle gained speed, turned upward and began to fly toward the sun. The doctor could not see in front of him and turned back to look upon the city he was leaving, unable from this height to differentiate his family from the land around them.

*Muna J. Asali van Engen*



## JE NE ME SOUVIENS PLUS

Je ne me souviens plus  
Quelles étaient nos formes  
Et qui étions-nous?

Venons-nous de naître?  
Venons-nous de ressusciter à l'instant  
Où j'écris le poème ?

Nous regardons les corps  
Accourir dans le jardin  
Des corps transparents  
A l'origine Divine

Je ne me souviens plus  
Quelles étaient nos formes  
Et qui étions-nous?

Nous nous sommes beaucoup éloignés  
Du fond  
Où résident les créatures du fond  
D'où nous surgîmes  
Et je ne me souviens plus

J'entends le vent  
Retourner ses paumes  
Et l'Histoire blesser  
Le chant des oiseaux à l'aube

Je me souviens  
Comme nous nous embarquions  
Dans des bateaux  
Invisibles à l'oeil de l'ennemi  
Et comme nous ramions  
Vers les points cardinaux  
Chaque rame une prière

Je me souviens comme  
Nos pères nous emportaient  
Légers,  
Oh ! combien légers  
Vers leur brume  
Et comme sous l'eau  
Nous tombions toujours  
Entre deux guerres  
Et toujours  
Nous vainquions

Je ne me souviens plus  
Quelles étaient nos formes  
Et qui étions -nous?

Etions-nous avec les créatures  
Du fond  
Ou venons-nous de surgir  
Quand elles surgirent?

Venons-nous de ressusciter?  
Mais la Trompette  
N'a pas encore sonné!

Je me souviens comme  
Les arbres étaient amoureux  
Des fenêtres  
Et comme ils nous applaudissaient  
Lorsque nous tombions  
Dans le sommeil

Je me souviens que  
Tous nos mouvements  
Étaient des prières

Je me souviens comme  
Les créatures du fond  
S'asseyaient sur des chaises  
Faites de poèmes  
Et comme l'eau se repliait  
Sur elle-même  
En s'épanouissant au fond

Comment venons-nous de naître  
Alors que je me souviens  
Comme nous tremblions  
Dans nos eaux argentées

Et comme nous nageions  
Dans des lacs  
Où la glace ne fond jamais?

Venons- nous de naître?

Je ferme les yeux  
Et l'Histoire défile  
Dans l'obscurité  
Qui se lève  
Qui descend du palanquin  
Qui me salue  
Et qui dresse sa tente

Venons-nous de naître?

Je ferme les yeux  
Et l'Histoire defile dans l'obscurité  
Qui s'assoit  
Qui part  
Qui me salue  
Qui m'embrasse  
Qui m'ignore

Porquoi mon pays  
Vient-t-il à moi  
En chemise de nuit  
Chaque fois que je me souviens?

Sommes-nous ressuscités  
Ou est-ce avant la naissance?

Voilà que nous remontons  
L'échelle des créatures

Gravissant des escaliers sans marches  
Dévorant nos formes anciennes  
Accourant avec de nombreux pieds  
Et de nombreuses robes  
Patients  
Tels des arbres sous la pluie

Sommes-nous ressuscités?  
Qui donc parmi nous entendit  
Le son de la Trompette?  
Ou venons -nous de naître?

Et pourquoi les montagnes  
Deviennent-elles des chevaux  
Qui accourent dans les vallées  
Du coeur?

Quelles sont ces chambres  
Qui nous habitent?

Et quel est cet écho  
Qui résonne  
D'une chambre à l'autre  
Illuminant une bague  
Que nous avons perdue  
Dans nos lointaines fiançailles ?

Le vent des Nombres  
Ne cesse de siffler dehors

Quel mal nous annonce  
Le vent des Nombres?



Et pourquoi les arbres  
De cette ville  
Refusent-ils le printemps?

J e me souviens  
Comme les années passaient  
Entre une vague et l'autre

Je mes souviens  
Comme nos visages avaient des rides  
Telles des vagues  
Quand elles se replient

Je me souviens  
Comme nous marchions seuls  
Dans les forêts de l'eau  
Rêvant de rencontrer un être  
Avant que nos souliers ne s'usent

Venons- nous de ressusciter  
Ou de naître à l'instant?  
Est-ce pour cela que nos rêves  
Nous regardent  
Vidant l'obscurité des nuits  
Dans des seaux troués?

Est-ce pour cela  
Que chaque soir  
Nos doigts noircissent  
Avant la nuit?

Le fond s'agite  
lorsque nous nous approchons de lui  
Les eaux nous voient  
Les eaux s'allègent

Les eaux deviennent des cloches  
Le fond rejette  
Ses robes multiples  
Il en fait un linceul  
Qui nous enveloppe

Et nous voilà  
Chavirant  
Légers  
Légers  
Vers la présence de l'eau

Et nous voilà  
Chavirant  
Haillons  
Sur haillons  
Alors qu'un arbre  
Se met à brûler à l'est du Paradis  
Et que ses cendres pleuvent  
Sur nos deux corps  
Ecrivant le poème.

*Amira El-Zein*

A

WORTH IT

# GENOCIDE

Some people were shocked when  
U. S. Secretary of State  
Madeleine Albright said the death of  
hundreds of thousands of Iraqi children  
from sanctions was "Worth it."  
(Sixty Minutes, May 11, 1996)



Since the Stahl-Albright  
interview, another 250,000  
Iraqi children have died  
from the sanctions.

Imagine however if Madeleine Albright was German  
and the victims were Jewish?  
Only then would it be an act of genocide.